FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLISH SITUATION SUBJECT OF NEWSPAPER COMMENT

AU221625 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jan (BTA) -- "The failure of the imperialist plot against People's Poland inflicted a very painful blow to the plans devised on the banks of the Potomac River in the course of many years" reads an article written specially for TRUD by Prof Valentin Zorin, political observer of the Soviet television. "The attempts at frustrating the socialist system in the countries of Eastern Europe was one of the important cards Washington played in the political game." He stresses that the errors of the former Polish leadership were exploited by the opponents of socialism, for not only destroying socialism in Poland, but for launching a series of chain reactions to destroy socialism on European soil. In that connection the author says: "It is a typical feature of the weak politicians to take the wishful for reality."

Mr Valentin Zorin points out that the malicious anti-Polish campaign of the White House is due to the lack of correct appraisal of the political processes in Poland on the part of the American intelligence services, that it is also due to the fact that the roots of counter-revolution in that country proved much less deeper than the "Solidarity" leaders used to present them or as they wished their masters abroad to believe. "The Polish workers never questioned socialism, they were displeased only with its distortions as committed by some leaders," he adds.

The author writes that precisely these circumstances threw the Washington leaders into rage, because they had to abandon their sweet fantasies and illusions. "From here stems also the impotent spite demonstrated by Washington," he says.

In conclusion Mr Valentin Zorin writes that one more aim of equal importance is pursued by the organizers of the present political and propaganda campaign. They are striving to "discipline" the American NATO partners who are increasingly slipping out of the Washington grip. "The new variations of the old theme of 'Soviet menace', currently worked out in connection with the Polish events are reviewed by Washington as an apt motive to 'correct' the over-independence of the allies."

Commenting on the attempts of the "Solidarity" leaders to involve the Polish youth into anti-socialist actions, OTECHESTVEN FRONT writes that the martial law and the disbanding of the most reactionary organizations in Poland thwarted these intentions and sobered up the majority of the younger generation. The newspaper writes that an increasing number of young people in that country realized where to and by whom they had been pushed and they now seek their proper place in the life of the country at present. "The task of the Military Council for National Salvation to win the younger generation over to their side is a difficult but still a feasible one. The battle for the younger generation is a bettle for the future of socialism in Poland," adds OTECHESTVEN FRONT.

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME writes that under the conditions of socialism, some contradictions may become antagonistic if they are not discovered and resolved in time. The newspaper notes that in such a case a delay and a rottening can occur on which the anti-socialist elements and their imperialist patrons would live a parasitic life. "This is what happened in Poland, where an antagonistic contradiction arose between the socialist system on the one hand and the counter-revolutionary forces, which have entrenched themselves among the extremist circles of "Solidarity" on the other" adds ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. The daily of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union stresses the correctness of the introduction of martial law in the country under the real threat against the popular power.

PRAGUE REPORTS 'DRUZHBA-82' EXERCISES 25-30 JAN

Actions Described

LD252104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] The planned "Druzhba-82" land and air unit exercises of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army began today. They will end on 30 January and will take place in the Litomerice, Liberec, Pratue, Plzen and Karlovy Vary region. The aim of the exercise is to enhance cooperation between commanders and units of the allied armies in winter conditions, and 25,000 troops are taking part.

One of today's actions was undertaken by the Czechoslovak and Soviet engineering corps. Troops of the two fraternal armies erected a pontoon bridge across a river. The resulting product is of high quality and was built in short time. This has enabled the exercising units to continue implementing their tasks on both sides of the river.

The combat action was viewed by Vladimir Vedra, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, Chamber of Nations; Col Gen Miloslav Blahnik, chief of General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army and first deputy minister of national defense; Col Gen Mikhail Tereshchenko, representative of the Joint Armed Forces Staff of the Warsaw Pact member states; Col Gen Mikhail Goglev, member of the Military Council, chief of the Political Directorate of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia; and other guests.

The Joint Armed Forces demonstrated excellent cooperation during their demanding combat activities, and also demonstrated their excellent political and physical qualities. They have thus provided a convincing proof that they are able jointly, and arm in arm, to fulfill all tasks stemming from the defense of the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Kulikov Arrival Noted

LD252050 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union, Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, arrived in Czechoslovakia today for the "Druzhba-82" joint Czechoslovak, Soviet and Hungarian military exercises.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport, Prague, with military honors, and met by representatives of the CPCZ Central Committee, the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army and other representatives.

REAGAN 'INTENTION' IN POLAND CRITICIZED

AU221430 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Jan 82 p 2

[Vladimir Till commentary: "With the Pope's Blessing"]

[Excerpts] It is, to say the least, peculiar when the chief of a great power, which is laying claim to international respect, must make use of the approval from the pope in Rome to justify his policy.

It must be said that the Vatican blessing is not a convincing argument. First, John Paul II is an anticommunist Polish nationalist; second, he is head of the Catholic Church, which was and is directly involved in Polish events. Certainly nobody expected the pope to anathematize the American sanctions, even though they will, above all, affect his fellow countrymen. As we, too, know from our own history, the political power and other secular interests of the Roman Catholic hierarchy have always come before national interests.

But this is not the decisive thing today. What is important is Reagan's intention to continue exerting economic and political pressure on the government of a sovereign state which is gradually solving its problems by constitutional means. Developments in Poland, now controlled by the Military Council, certainly do not endanger the security of any European country, even less so the United States. The revival of law and order (incidentally, the words "law and order" are one of Reagan's favorite slogans) is not changing in any way the composition of the correlation of political forces on our continent, as has been established [ustalil se] during the last more than 30 years. On the contrary; it would be dangerous to attempt to provoke an "inevitable confrontation," as discussed at the "Solidarity" bosses' secret meeting in Radom last December.

Reagan's absolutely unfounded claim about the deteriorating situation in the Polish People's Republic is disproved not only by statements made by the Polish representatives, but particularly by obvious facts. The primary aim of Reagan's efforts -- to extort political concessions from the Soviet Union -- continues to remain merely a pious hope.

POLISH COMMUTER GIVES VIEWS ON SITUATION

AU221317 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Jan 82 p 3

[Interview of Helmut Matloch, "Polish worker," given to an unspecified PRACE editor: "Our Only Path" -- date and place not given]

[Text] Polish citizens are working in many iron works and in construction and other enterprises of the Ostrava-Karvina industrial association. The Bohumin iron and wire works alone currently have more than 300 such workers. "What is happening in your country? How is the situation over there now?" our people often ask their Polish fellow workers. We, too, have asked one of them -- Helmut Matloch, worker in the boiler foundry, who commutes daily to our country to his job.

[Question] In these difficult times for the PZPR, have you not lost your communist conviction?

[Answer] No. The party is not individuals.

[Question] What is the present mood among Polish citizens?

[Answer] Almost nobody doubts that Poland was standing on the verge of civil war. This was confirmed for us by the discoveries of weapons concealed by the "Solidarity" extremists, by their programs and the planned measures which we now have the opportunity to study. Peace and order have again returned to Poland, something everybody must concede. The people are using rationing cards to buy things, but they do get what they need; they are not entirely dependent on those selling on commission and for exorbitant prices. Distribution is under the strict control of the army, which enjoys both trust and authority. We particularly welcomed the decision about obligatory work. The people who formerly did not work at all and who acquired money by the most peculiar methods have been a thorn in the Poles' side for a long time.

[Question] According to the United States, it was the Soviet Union that actually proclaimed the state of emergency in Poland; and for this both it and Poland deserve retaliatory measures. What do you think?

[Answer] It is unnecessary to comment on this nonsense. The only thing I want to say is that the eyes of us all are being gradually opened. We are not only beginning to see "Solidarity's" activity in a true light, but also the entire "generous" Western assistance. We have again found our friends in the socialist countries. I trust that with your assistance we will hold out. At Christmas my 12-year-old daughter brought a small package home from school -- it contained chocolates, sweets and fruit, a present from Soviet children. Other schools received similar presents from children of Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. I myself saw trucks with goods on the border, coming from the Czechoslovak trade unionists. You get to know your friends by their deeds.

PAPER ASSESSES U.S.-NATO STANCE TOWARD POLAND

LD251156 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0325 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 25 Jan (ADN) -- NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today publishes a commentary headlined "On a Dangerous Course", which reads as follows:

At the same time when, according to reports by Western media, criticism of the policy of President Reagan's team is increasing in the United States, representatives of the NATO countries in Brussels are trying to increase the force of the journey into the uncertainty launched by the United States. In Brussels on Saturday they "agreed on the first steps of the policy of sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland", which is to exert "increased pressure on those responsible for the situation in Poland." A high U.S. representative told the press that "a rather broad spectrum of measures" had been discussed. This included economic sanctions, the blocking of financial credits, limitation of cultural exchanges and travel restrictions on the diplomats of the Soviet Union and Poland. It was learned that the representative of the FRG, whose government rejected economic sanctions as recently as the last Bundestag session, gave his consent.

In view of such aventurous steps toward the Soviet Union, People's Poland and their allies, the automatic question is: Whither this journey? Surely no one can seriously expect the continuation of the adventurous course already begun at the NATO foreign ministers conference, which is inconsistent with the resolutions of Helsinki and which violates the treaties of Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin and Berlin (West), to pass without a reply by the states affected who regard the safeguarding of peace as the first rule for their actions. The latest NATO steps, which are meanwhile being exaggerated as representing a demand by public opinion of the Western world -- without it being possible to furnish proof of this -- are obviously part of a concept worked out by the most reactionary imperialist NATO circles, especially the United States. According to the motto "irrespective of cost," the objective of bringing the world under the command of the United States is being pursued even at the risk of thus unleashing a nuclear inferno.

This should be borne in mind by those who are all too eager to use the tragic events in People's Poland to disguise their open about-face onto the United States' confrontation course, to use humanistic phrases. In this they fail to note that through the steadfastness of many states and peoples, the world at large is becoming increasingly aware that for the most aggressive imperialist circles, especially among the ranks of the arms industry, the Polish question is nothing but an excuse. In reality these circles are interested only in the hundreds of millions approved for the arms drive. If the events in Poland did not exist, they would find a different pretext for their course of confrontation, for their striving toward military superiority. People who believe there are more important things than peace have never had any shortage of such pretexts -- neither in the preparation and start of World War I nor of World War II.

However, the question is whether the organizers of a third world war are still capable of grasping that they too, following a nuclear inferno, will no longer be able to argue about counterarming, arms drives, military superiority, the Polish and other questions. Their adventurous course, if realized, will not save them, as it was so aptly put by Egon Bahr, from being united with everybody else in the nuclear cemetery.

All this ought to be borne in mind by those working out a whole catalog of measures which, if they take effect -- as they so irresponsibly put it -- will inflict damage on the Soviet Union, Poland and all other socialist countries. They therefore intend, as they put it, to "administer punishment", since the Polish Government under General Wojciech Jaruzelski is not prepared to dance to the tune of NATO, especially the United States, but is guided in its policy by the interests of People's Poland, a reliable member of the Warsaw Treaty.

One cannot but throw one's hands in the air and ask why basically sensible people cannot see this and allow themselves to be pushed into the corner of a narrowminded, unpredictable U.S. policy. They are partly those politicians who, when asked by the young why such large sections of the German people fell for Hitler, have until today been unable to give a reply despite the fact that the "great dictator" tried to justify his whole policy by claiming that the Jews, communists and cyclists were to blame for everything bad in the world, even the defeats at Moscow, Leniningrad and Staligrad.

According to reports by Western media, the party congress of the Hamburg SPO [Social Democratic Party of Germany] when discussing peace, spoke in favor of a nuclear-free zone in Europe against the opposition of Chancellor Schmidt and Defense Minister Apel. In their resolution the delegates to the regional party congress called this an important step for stability and detente in Europe. This attitude is rightly regarded by observers of developments in the FRG as the will of the majority of Federal Republic citizens.

Irrespective of this the manipulators of public opinion -- and obviously not only they -- hope to incense the populace through distorting reports about events in Poland and thus deflecting from the danger of the Brussels NATO decisions. Irrespective of the cost, public opinion in countries of capital such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain and the Federal Republic, where the peace movement has been gaining in strength and where there are over 30 million unemployed, is being steered in favor of those operating the arms drive.

But now, according to latest reports, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has advocated restrained language and moderation in assessing events in Poland. "By moderating our language", he said, "the Federal Republic could help to avoid great, worldwide confrontation." Furthermore, it could not be in the interest of FRG citiziens "to jeopardize through an East-West confrontation that which in the past has been built between the two German states."

With that one can agree. However, it is somewhat worrying that the representatives of the FRG in NATO lack this restraint. On a question which can decide war or peace, what gives these selfsame people the right to consent to a catalog which to all intents and purposes empowers the United States to do in the world as it likes. Obviously they had their instructions which thus made it impossible for them to show moderation in the assessment of events in Poland.

Poland is not the government-generalship of the FRG. It is an independent, sovereign socialist state controlling its own affairs. General Wojciech Jaruzelski, at the instigation of the PZPR and the Government of People's Poland, by virtue of a decree of the Council of State of People's Poland, has temporarily declared a state of emergency in order to end chaos in People's Poland caused by the extremists of "Solidarity" and Kania, and to usher in recovery. He thus forestalled a coup d'etat prepared by the leadership of "Solidarity" for 17 December 1981.

All this is the internal affair of People's Poland. The PZPR and Polish Government did not even consult or inform the governments of their allies on this question. Indeed, there was no need for that. They thus acted in accordance with their Constitution and international law. Quite apart from this an end to the chaos in People's Poland as the outcome of the state of emergency can only be beneficial for People's Poland and Europe. No country can live without work in the long run. Like every other country People's Poland has the right to do the necessary in order to claim its place in the international community. Thus it is in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act.

What has NATO to do with? What have communist parties such as those in Italy and Spain to do with it? Actually, nothing.

Viewed from the angle of its memorandum of association, NATO was created to defend its member states against aggression from outside.

There is nothing in the NATO treaty which says that it is NATO's objective to introduce socialism in the NATO countries, let alone to interfere in a Warsaw Treaty state in order to "democratize" it within the spirit of the NATO doctrine, despite the fact that Turkey, as the Greek representative said during the last NATO foreign ministers session, is anything but democratic.

As far as the communist parties in Italy and Spain are concerned -- at every opportunity they point out the importance of their parties' independence and noninterference in their internal affairs -- it is incomprehensible that on the Polish question they stab the PZPR and the majority of communist and workers' parties in the back. No one has recommended that they adopt that model of socialism prevailing in the socialist countries. No one stops them from realizing "democratic socialism" in their countries.

It is quite clear that the current attempt to manufacture an alliance against the Soviet Union, Poland and the other socialist countries corresponds fully and totally to the endeavors of those imperialist circles which, through a policy of military superiority and armament according to the Brussels missile decision, are trying to force the world into a corset which no longer fits. At the same time attempts are made to divert attention from the fact that in the highly developed Western industrial states 30 million people are clamouring for jobs, including millions of youth who are questioning their own futures. Hence, the ballyhoo about Poland; hence the candles for Poland.

May the initiators of the fog behind which the preparation of a third world war is to take place not overlook that it corresponds to the interests of the Europeans for Europe not to become Euroshima. Dresden, which shortly before the end of World War II was turned by Anglo-American bombers into a fireball and razed to the ground, would be child's play compared with that which threatens Europe from rabble-rousers.

Therefore, even at five minutes to midnight one ought to reflect that the growing hysteria about Poland is no substitute for politics. On the agenda are those questions which will permit a solution at the negotiating table by patient work -- questions which must be solved in the interests of mankind's peaceful future. The Soviet Union and the other states of the Warsaw Treaty have put forward relevant proposals which, while preserving the principles of equality and equal security, open up for everybody the opportunity for arms control and disarmament right to the most radical solution, the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe.

COOPERATION COMMISSION TBILISI MEETING NOTED

LD252314 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] The Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation is holding its session in the capital of Soviet Georgia. This is the first time that the body has met outside Moscow, in the capital of one of the republics.

In his opening speech, Deputy Premier Nikolay Talyzin, chairman of the Soviet section, pointed out that the current session will discuss the possibilities of developing direct links between Hungary and the various Soviet republics. The Hungarian cochairman of the body, Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, said these new possibilities will greatly increase many-sided economic cooperation.

MAGYARORSZAG ON WEST'S SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND

LD251202 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Budapest, Jan 24 (MTI) -- The statements made at the Washington White House and the Brussels NATO centre concerning Poland "cast doubts on the most fundamental rights of a country to manage her own affairs," reads the leader in the latest issue of the political weekly MAGYARORSZAG. The article puts the question: How can it be possible?

"There is no doubt that the mind of those who elaborated these stands is deluded by furious anti-communism and anti-socialism, because the situation in Poland has not developed in harmony with their hopes and scenario. They are quite aware that the Polish state has made legal steps, that the Polish people themselves made a decision and measures on December 13, but as Western leaderships could not make use of it for 'justifying' their aggressive actions, they started to accuse the Soviet Union for alleged pressure on the Polish leadership."

Then the article points out: "Those in Warsaw, who followed so servile the Western instructions supported by quite a good sum of dollars, might be naive to believe that anybody had headaches in Washington or Brussels for 'democracy' in Poland. On the contrary, those gentlemen were the less interested in this issue; they wished to make anarchy, the weakness of the state and the delicate situation lasting and to change Poland into the weakest member of the socialist community."

And now, "instead of relieving the privation of the Polish society which is living under particularly severe economic circumstances, they wish to make the crisis more difficult by issuing 'sanctions.'" This is aimed at "hindering social consolidation that, if it succeeds to be continued, will lead to a socialist settlement of the pressing problems of the Polish people. Then imperialism can throw its Polish scenario away."

But, unfortunately, that 'then' means far future. However, some changes have started to take place: Counter-revolutionary process has been stopped, and the conditions of consolidation are under development. The consolidation itself can be a fruit only of a policy that rejects the mistakes of the party leadership in power before August 1980, while hindering the revival of the danger of a counter-revolution, and it simultaneously involves an activating programme for correcting mistakes and for the protection and further development of socialist system. Parallel with all this, it has to refuse all attempts of the reactionary circles of the capitalist world for interfering and blackmailing.

"Solution for the severe social problem have to be find [as heard] by the Poles themselves," it has been stressed by statements issued in Budapest for almost one and a half year. "And they always added: Those Poles, who are seeking for this socialist solution, can always rely upon the support and sympathy of the Hungarian people," concludes the MAGYARORSZAG commentary.

REPORTAGE ON 25 JANUARY SEJM SESSION IN WARSAW

Council of Ministers Changes

LD251436 Warsaw PAP in English 1401 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- For the first time since the proclamation of martial law in Poland, the Sejm (parliament) convened in Warsaw today for a two-day meeting.

The original agenda envisaged:

-- Address by the chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption and chairman of the Council of Ministers General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

-- Consideration of the Council of State bill on special legal regulation for the duration of martial law, concerning approval of decrees issued on December 12, 198i.

-- Report by the Committees for Education and Upbringing and for Legal Work on the government bill on the teacher's charter.

At the outset the agenda has been expanded by the addition of the item: changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

Then the floor was taken by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Jaruzelski Addresses Sejm

LD251732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1607 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and of the Council of Ministers, at 25 January Sejm session in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] May it please the house! Citizen deputies: Poland has not perished; Poland cannot perish. This is the prime truth. It is this truth that defined the motives and aims of the creation of the Military Council of National Salvation. As the administrator of martial law the Military Council of National Salvation supports the constitutional authorities of the state and creates the necessary conditions to enable them to fulfill their inalienable functions. These functions, before 13 December, had been catastrophically disrupted. The stability and security of the state had been unhinged and the economy was floundering. The threat of a fratricidal war was in the air. It was at the last moment, just at the brink, that the Council of State introduced martial law.

The supreme sovereign authority of the Polish nation is to be found here, in this hall. The Sejm and the Council of State embody the will of the nation. The Polish soldier swears loyalty to the legal authorities of the state. The Armed Forces could not remain inactive when the supreme need arose. This was their firm duty to their native land. Soldiers' blood has been soaked up in this land and the sweat from soldiers' brows has been dripping into this soil for many years. This also gives the Armed Forces the power of moral authority in carrying out this duty.

The increasing threat was visible to the named eye. The Citizens' Militia and the security services, which incessantly opposed this threat on the front line, had the most intimate dealings with this threat. We informed people about this threat constantly. It was no secret to lay and ecclesiastical people, to civilians or military people, to workers and peasants or to writers and men of learning. It was also no secret to those living abroad, including government representatives who were informed about it on various occasions.

I shall also recall the Sejm resolutions that warned people and appealed to them for calm and agreement. I shall recall the statements by you, citizen deputies, the appeals by the party and the other political parties and government speeches and appeals. One could fill a whole library with all these warnings, these attempts to persuade people, these appeals and offers. Unfortunately, this did not achieve anything. Agreement was an obstacle for extremist forces in Solidarity who saw the destruction of socialist Polish statehood as the supreme goal. I charge these forces with paralyzing the authorities, with sowing hatred and with breaking the law constantly, with strike terrorism, with ruining the economy, with imperiling the alliances and security of the nation, and with abusing the trust of millions of honest people who were being dragged more and more into a dangerous whirlpool.

Today, when voices of condemnation of the Polish authorities are being raised at home and abroad, I pose the question: Why was there silence when the country was threatened with incalculable tragedy? Why were there no voices of warning? Why was there no sober view of things? May such a view appear as soon as possible so that it might help close this dramatic episode of Polish history.

Martial law must not be treated as an order-making operation after which everything will return to the old state of affairs. It is not, of course, a normal state. However, the situation prior to 13 December was 100 times more abnormal. The most important achievement since that time is calm. A stop has been put to anarchy. Crime has diminished decisively. The economy, in which there are no supply shortages, is gradually achieving a regular rhythm. The functioning of the administration is improving. Winter is not sparing us. It is difficult to imagine what the consequences of winter would have been had the strikes and tensions continued, had it not been for the organization and discipline of martial law, had it not been for the increased coal extraction.

I am speaking about this, citizen deputies, while fully aware of what the reality is. It is sad to think that it was only extraordinary measures that created the elementary conditions for the functioning of the national organism, for everyone to carry out their duties. Even the clearing of snow from pavements in many towns was successful for the first time in many years only because appropriate instructions were issued and we made sure that they were carried out. A normal country should function in a different way.

I am not contending that a new, better era has now begun in Poland. There is still a long way to go before this occurs. Martial law has only created a chance which should be used in every respect. It is a kind of bridge which makes it possible to get through a critical period. The question of when martial law will be lifted is often asked. My answer is: I hope it will be lifted as soon as possible. But the duration of martial law is not dependent simply on our intentions. It is dependent on realistic conditions, on the fulfillment of conditions which will secure a permanent, safe and normal course of life, as well as the correct functioning of the economy. It is not the calendar which should decide the future of the country, nor, all the more so, any external pressure. Our intentions are guided by the following thought: Elements of martial law which restrict civic freedoms and are burdensome for the entire community are, insofar as the situation permits, successively alleviated or completely lifted. If illegal actions do not develop, if unforeseen circumstances do not arise, these restrictions will be lifted or considerably reduced, at any rate by the end of next month. On the other hand, a different attitude should be taken toward the needs of the economy, toward making it well and regulating it, as well as toward fighting crime and disruptions of social discipline.

In this sphere, the relevant elements of martial law might, and doubtless should, be maintained for a suitably longer period. I express my hope that the house will share this view. Poland is still an exhausted country, a country that is exposed to numerous threats.

Subversive radio stations call for plots and even for terrorist acts. Antistate forces, encouraged from abroad, threaten to take action. Let there be no unclear thinking as far as this matter is concerned: The sole consequence of actions of this kind would be an extension of the martial law and a tightening up of its regulations. Let no one count on authority breaking down. [applause]

The process of setting right the activities of the state and industrial administration is still continuing. I am familiar with reports of the military operational groups. They show just how much there is yet to be done, how much wastage, indifference and ordinary ineptitude have to be rooted out. The state of martial law only laid the beginning of this process. It is impossible to eliminate, over a few weeks, habits which have been in place over the years. The rigors of martial law impose discipline both on those who are in charge of the economy and those who are engaged in production processes. The militarization of certain areas and the presence of military commissars at enterprises have turned out to be useful in introducing into practice the requirements for the normal functioning of industry, commerce and transportation. It is enough to compare the figures for absenteeism for November last year and January this year to convince oneself of this. We will willingly make available this information to our foreign creditors. May it please the house: We are working in a very complex international situation. I shall speak openly, without diplomatic subtleties. It was in our land that the process of dismantling the postwar configuration of forces in Europe was to have begun; thus marking the start of this process on a world scale.

Those who were striving for destabilization and for attaining unilateral advantage had counted on shattering the foundation of peace in Europe which is represented by the Yalta and Potsdam treaties. The costs of this plan would have had to have been borne by Poles. It was not found possible to implement this goal before 13 December. Attempts are currently being made to attain it with the use of threats, boycott and so-called sanctions.

It is with appreciation that we welcome the realistic and far-sighted policy of those governments and those political and economic-financial circles which withstood the diktat, and which are resolved to defend the right to make sovereign decisions. We take note of this today and will well remember it for the future. [applause]

Unfortunately other states of NATO carry out psychological propagandistic aggression against Poland. Economic weapons, including the food weapon, were used. It is being asserted that economic sanctions are aimed against the Government of the Polish People's Republic, against the Military Council of National Salvation.

It is not true. The sanctions, in the final reckoning, strike at the Polish nation, at every Pole. The aim of the sanctions is clear: to paralyze the Polish economy; to make it impossible to get out of the crisis; [word indistinct] by hunger; and to provoke internal conflict. That is the measure of the alleged humanitarianism. Here is the lesson we must learn: There is a desire to punish the Poles for not allowing the construction of a pyre in the heart of Europe on which their country could burn; for once at least turning out to be wise before the event. [applause]

There are limits to hypocrisy. The government that has for years been torpedoing the imposition of sanctions on the great concentration camp which is the Republic of South Africa does not hesitate to impose sanctions on Poland. The head of the Polish Government did not demand the release from U.S. prisons of the handcuffed leaders of the air traffic controllers' trade union. The Polish Government did not make any declarations assessing the respect for human rights in Ulster. The Polish Sejm did not debate whether the rules for the practice of a profession by people with inconvenient opinions which are in force in the FRG are in accord with the declaration on human rights.

We observe the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. We have the right to expect the same of others. We have the right to expect the same of others. It is simply not to be taken seriously when some countries dictate who is to negotiate with whom in Poland: it is anachronistic. That is the tone used by colonial states in the last century.

Poles have never yet bowed down before a foreign ultimatum. Apparently not everyone abroad understands our history, our sense of pride and dignity.

There are disputes and conflicts in our country, but it is not foreigners who will solve them. Similarly, we reject the insinuation that the decision on martial law was imposed on us, that it was instigated. Attempts are being made to create the belief that a socialist, sovereign country, with a millenium of statehood, with a strong army, is an immature child which someone is taking by the hand. The truth is this: that this was our own decision, made on the basis of our own assessments and implemented by our own powers.

We regret that the role of chief organizer of the measures against Poland has been taken on at present by the Government of the United States, a country with which Poland is linked by bonds of traditional friendship. We have not lost the hope that there will be a return to realism there.

Attempts at interfering in Polish internal affairs are glaringly contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

It is obvious that we do not intend to appear before any self-styled tribunal. We will not take part in conferences in which Poland would have to appear as a defendant.

The events in our country do not threaten anyone. On the contrary, we have stopped the threat of destabilization in Europe. We have contributed to maintaining peace. It is a fact that some civil rights have been temporarily suspended in Poland. We have explained the reasons for this extensively. However, these explanations did not reach public opinion. The freedom of the greater part of the Western press does not go that far; but it goes far enough to allow the feeding of nonsensical rumors to readers. In the majority of cases these tales of terror concern people who have been preventively interned. A delegation of the International Red Cross recently had the opportunity to see for themselves what is true and what is not. We do not have anything to hide here. Among the internees are the instigators of antisocialist activities, the organizers of social tension, and the leaders and members of illegal, antistate organizations. There are also people who have lost their commonsense and got entangled in certain actions without being fully aware. They must reassess their views, and recover their sense of responsibility and political reflection.

Among the internees are people who are principally responsible for bringing the country into the present crisis. We do not apply the principle of common responsibility. Nobody is prosecuted for his opinions. The internment has a temporary and individual character; it is a firm measure but certainly not the most severe as compared with the degree of danger created by the activity of those who are interned.

There are today 4,549 people in the internment centers. To date, 1,760 people have been released and further releases will follow. Those internees who are amenable to the decree on abolition [dekret o abolicui] and those who will abandon their activity against the socialist state have the possibility of returning to their families and to their vocational work.

The overwhelming majority of those who were released have not embarked on any illegal activity so far. There is, however, a certain group who have made such attempts. The reaction of the authorities against them will be substantially more severe. Those people who refuse to abandon illegal activity will remain isolated. They cannot count on any return to antistate political activity.

It is not the intention of the authorities to deport anyone against his will, but we will have no objections if those people would like to settle in other countries of their choosing.

If it may please the house, each Pole is faced today with the question of what to do next; how to overcome the crisis; what guarnatees are there that the extraordinary measures will not become something contrary to themselves [nie obroca sie we wlasne przeciwienstwo] and that the errors of the past will really be corrected.

The opinion that it is possible to do something for the Poles but that it is impossible to do anything with the Poles recurs throughout our history. The truth is different: It will not be possible to construct anything lasting which is against the nation, against the working class, or in breach of the ideals of socialism. A socialist Poland can be built only with the Poles. [applause]

There can be no return to the bad methods of discharging power used before August 1980. Distortions, departures from ideological and moral principles of socialism have been severely condemned and rejected by the party. Tumultuous events resulted in the fact that many people left public life. People have been harmed; groundless accusations have been leveled against them; there has been moral terror which, unleashed by the enemies of socialism, affected righteous and meritorious people too. There are also various facts: Under the smokescreen of martial law, those who after August 1980 were deprived of their posts for justified reasons, are now trying to surface again. We do not agree with this. The army is not, nor will it be, a protective shield for anyone who, because of ill will or ineptitude, had a hand in the current crisis; who understood nothing from the severe lesson; and who would wish to act as in the old days.

We do not intend, either, to protect anyone who is resonsible for yesterday and today, irrespective of his functions, party membership or previous services. Emotions are understandable, but it is not possible to build social life on emotions. We will uncompromisingly combat enemies of the socialist state, instigators of anarchy, and inspirers. However, we resolutely reject ideas of vengeance and of settling scores. Too many conflicts have piled up in Poland for us now to multiply them. We should show tolerance to those who did not act with bad faith; those who had been deceived. We will not conclude pacts with the enemy. Agreement should be reached with people who are honest, but who are lost and undecided. If they have been harmed, it should be put right, too. There are no Poles who are better or worse than others. There are only those who work for the fatherland and those who obstruct it. We will not ask anyone whence he came if he honestly contributes toward setting our common home to rights, toward rebuilding it.

May it please the house! We are undertaking to clear the way for the future. We are leaving the past behind us. In this past there were conflicts, serious blunders and tragedies of many people. But there were also things of lasting value: the great deed of postwar reconstruction, the historical advance of workers and peasants, the industrialization of the country and the development of science and culture. One cannot write the biography of People's Poland only in black ink.

Ahead of us we have the future, the 1980's and the 21st century. We must be up to the challenge of history at all costs. Time as well as every pair of Polish hands are needed to achieve this goal. The wisdom, memory and experience of the older generation are needed. The enthusiasm of youth and all the forces and talents available to our nation are needed. We must belief in ourselves. This Polish inability to do things must be broken through once and for all and we must abandon what has become a burden for Poland. We must adopt and develop what is of value, including the good things that the past decade brought into our lives. When all is said and done this period was not one big strip of blunders. The values brought into our lives by the period since August 1980 must be verified. Such values do exist.

In this speech I cannot fail to mention matters which count the most in the daily lives of citizens. However, the exceptional nature and gravity of the moment bid me to refer first to concepts that have a greater and historical importance. May the house forgive me this hour of sincere, bitter and harsh words.

With the passing of almost each generation we must pose questions to which other nations found answers a long time ago. Today we ask: How did a country that is as potentially rich as Poland find itself in the pit of a humiliating and protracted crisis? Why have other countries of real socialism been able over the same years to achieve considerable progress while we were floundering in difficulties? How can one explain the fact that democracy in Poland changes so quickly into anarchy and that part of the apparatus of power gets deformed so easily? The blunders and wrongdoings of ruling teams are obvious. But this is not the whole truth about Poland. Power in our country is not restricted only to a narrow circle of people, to a central leadership. This power is exercised in various forms by dozens and even hundreds of thousands of people. Offices and shops, hospitals and postoffices, schools and factories also often represent examples of bad civic and human attitudes. In any case, even those who were recently creating a counterpower in Poland also, after barely a few months, displayed arrogance, greed, dictatorial aspirations and hostility to criticism. They furnished fresh arguments for those who claim that Poles do not know how to govern themselves.

We often make life difficult for each other instead of making it easier. We look for the blame everywhere except in ourselves. As the saying goes: It is not easy to meet a Pole who does not feel aggrieved and let down, regardless of his personal contribution to shaping the collective well-being.

It is time for us all, both the authorities and and the community, to examine our consciences together. If conclusions from our difficult history are to serve the future then we should draw them today. No nation can live from day to day without a sense of the future. Our generation has a duty to make the vision of socialist Poland more contemporary and more realistic.

What is required first of all for the successful development of the country? First, strong, honest, far-sighted authority, a well-governed state, strong and just. Secondly, a deepening of socialist democracy in all its aspects. Thirdly, the reconstruction of the national economy so that it becomes effective and thrifty, so that it can serve well the needs of the working people.

May it please the house, martial law has halted the disintegration of the structure of the socialist state. Thus, at the same time, reforms intended to consolidate socialist renewal have not been halted. These reforms have been aimed at the manner in which the state authority performs and at the functioning of our economy. We have avoided distortions which could arise if the transformation were to be introduced in conditions of confusion. As a result, during the martial law, legislative work has not slowed down. It is continuing and going on efficiently.

The legislative activity of the esteemed house, of the Council of State and of the government has been maintained. It constitutes irrefutable evidence of our real, reformist intentions. The will to improve our state is finding realization in the extensive packet of legislative norms already approved, submitted, or under preparation. In this way, mechanisms for further progress and for deeper democratization are being created. At the same time, system guarantees [systemowe gwarancue] are being created. These prevent a repetition of the degeneration and the pre-August errors, as well as the return of anarchy and counter-revolution.

In the PZPR in accordance with the resolution of its Ninth Extraordinary Congress, is the initiator of these legislative reforms and guarantees. A guarantee of a particular kind will be the process of renewal within the party, the reconstruction by the party of its ideological unity and identity, and of its authentic leading role. The government fully appreciates the great significance of state reforms. It initiated many of them, and after their introduction will become the supreme executive body.

The implementation of these obligations will be improved and made even more efficient. This is also being encouraged in this hall by the constitutional cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD. Their allied bonds, at all levels, were considerably enriched last year, and recently, after passing a kind of battle test, they have been strengthened and tempered even more.

This is reflected in particular at the forum of the Government Presidium and the Council of Ministers as a whole. Also the active participation of representatives of nonparty collectives -- including the activists of Catholic law associations -- adds to their [the government's] coalition's comprehensiveness, if I may say so. So, in reality , we have a government of national cooperation. We shall deepen and consolidate this aspect of it and the methods of its work.

The decision on implementing the economic reform, undertaken despite dramatic conditions of crisis, illustrates the measure of our determination to bring about complete, consistent transformations. The house is engaged in working out a complex of eight bills on this subject, which were prepared by the government. Another package of bills placed before the Sejm concerns a new economic and legislative normalization on important problems of agriculture. Also, in the area of the state authorities and administration, and regardless of changes resulting from the economic reform, we are undertaking certain transformations and improvements. They are in the interest of the society and the state. Many of them will be defined by the new law on People's Councils. Let me express here the opinion that this law should initiate a further bold decentralization of authority and responsibilities. This will bring about a considerable strengthening of the role of People's Councils, thus broadening the field of action of local self-governments. In accordance with this, structural changes of the local bodies of the state administration will take place. These changes, which express the confidence the authorities have in the citizens, should also produce a greater trust by the citizens in the authorities.

Although the elections to People's Councils at the primary level have been postponed, there is an urgent need for continuation of the work on amending the electoral regulations. The government accelerated the preparations of the bill on the Council of Ministers. After this bill has been passed by the house it will become the first legal act in our legislation defining, among other things, the principles of responsibility of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and of the minister or head of a central office. The functioning of state administration must be comprehensively improved. An important incentive in this field will be the law on the officials' code of conduct. The preparation of this bill is nearing completion. State officials have an important social service to fulfill: the state service. Their attitudes and qualifications must be up to these requirements. The highest critieria will be applied to appointed officials of state administration and therefore they will have to abide by a specially mapped out code of ethical principles. Among the obligations imposed by it will be such things as modesty, cultural behavior [as heard] and kindness to other citizens and to those with whom they have official business to settle or who ask them to do something for them. The code of conduct will also introduce more order, clarity of applied criteria and objectivity in cadres policy. Random decisions will be eliminated in the selection of candidates for various posts, as well as the influence of factors irrelevant to the post being filled. One will draw on the potential of the cadre reserve, and a competitive method will be used more generally.

Qualifications will be checked by a panel procedure. The managing staffs will undergo systematic, special, additional training. Thus an encouraging method of development will be created for talented and ambitious young people.

At the same time we must eliminate the still numerous shortcomings and weaknesses that today weigh on the functioning of many public institutions, on the activity of the general and economic administration.

Ever new examples are being offered by the military operational groups, the plenipotentiaries and the commissars. Their reports and motions are being systematically analyzed, from parish to central level. The implementation of these motions must, however, be more practical, principled and consistent.

These reports show that the country's extensive control apparatus, comprising 15,000 professionals and 35,000 in the social committees, does not work as effectively as it should. It is thus necessary to try to make it more active and coordinated and above all to firmly implement the postcontrol proposals.

Streamlining the administration also entails simplifying its organizational structure, reducing the growth of posts and, finally, reviewing personnel. At present, all such measures are being undertaken and carried out, particularly in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. The cadre in these bodies must absolutely guarantee worthy representation for the state in its external relations.

The appropriate democratic action of the authorities and state administration requires close working contacts with the community, a knowledge of its views, consultation with it and seeking its advice. In this conviction and referring to the ideas envisaged in the assumptions of the economic reform, I welcome with satisfaction the Sejm Presidium's initiative on the matter of setting up an advisory socioeconomic chamber attached to the house, a body that will include representatives of all sectors of the working world.

In accordance with the announcement already made from this tribune, a social consultative council attached to the Government Presidium, will shortly be set up. Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski has agreed to take on its chairmanship. Similar chambers and councils should be created at the voivodship level. A system of councils attached to ministers is also being developed. Such a council was recently formed under the minister of culture and art and another will soon be set up under the minister of education and training.

A state center for public opinion research will be organized. It will, however, be necessary to learn and to accustom ourselves to the systematic exploitation of the results of such research.

May it please the house. The directions of legislative work presented and its derivative actions serve yet another, extremely important cause: the idea of law and order. A heavy blow was delivered to this idea twice from different sides in the past and recently. Each time this was a demonstrative disregard of the law, or even of raising oneself above the law. This crippled the social psyche; it weakened the legal condition of the community. It is necessary to decisively reinstate conformity with the law, with civic legal sense, with the principles of socialist morality, and with the community's aspirations.

We must ensure the return to the absolute implementation of the law, to personal responsibility of all without exception for their illegal acts.

Bearing this in mind, the Military Council of National Salvation appealed to the house to appoint a tribunal of state. I, in the same way as the whole of society, wish to express the conviction that the judgments of the tribunal on those responsible for bringing about a crisis of the state in the 1970's will be considered in a comprehensive way and will be profoundly just. I also wish -- in accordance with the intention of the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress -- to submit for consideration by the house the advisability of setting up a constitutional tribunal [trybunal konstytuchyjny].

May it please the house! Poland's international position has deteriorated. A state that is harassed by chaos and conflicts and that is being dislodged from its traditional export markets connot occupy a strong position. The voice of the weak cannot be heard. One speaks down to countries which are deep in debt. Poland's position did not just begin to become unstable, but it began before 13 December. Perhaps this might sound like a paradox but time will confirm this truth: Poland will return to its proper position in the socialist community, in Europe and in the world. [applause]

There are circles that already understand this. There will be more of these circles. The strength or weakness of the Polish state affects the balance of forces in Europe. Conversely, the fate of Poland depends on peace and on the stability of political relations on our continent. Our country is and will remain integrally linked with the policy of peace and detente. We wish to continue to make our Polish contribution to this policy.

In Europe tensions and threats are growing and arsenals are piling up. One must look far into the future to ensure for Poland security and inviolability of borders, a permanent presence on the map and at the table of partners. The Polish-Soviet alliance forms the foundation of our foreign policy. Our position -- and this does not apply solely to our geographical position -- is in the socialist constellation of states and among nations that are our equals and our friends. They have all given us internationalist economic assistance in these difficult days for Poland. They have shown trust and confidence that we are capable of removing on our own the dangers that have threatened socialism in our country. We are sincerely grateful for this assistance.

In Polish-Soviet alliance constitutes the basis of our foreign policy. Even when the great socialist power was being insulted in our country, when the graves of Soviet soldiers were being descrated, there was a regular flow of planned and above-plan supplies for Poland from the USSR. This was concrete financial assistance measurable in rubles and in exchange currency. We value this highly. [applause]

We state with recognition and satisfaction that the governments that voice their support for an active policy of international agreement have furnished proof of this down-to-earth and realistic attitude toward Polish events. Some governments friendly toward Poland have also granted us assistance. We thank them for it.

May it please the house. Those proven forms of socialist democracy which have been violated must be reconstructed and new ones which will be suitable for a higher level of social development must be built. It was not socialism that failed in Poland, but the lack of it. The class character of our state must be renewed. The role of workers and peasants encompassed in updated organizational and legal forms must be strengthened. Socialist democracy should be filled and enriched with values which correspond to the moral and social essence of socialism. Attitude toward work is one of such values. Higher productivity of work and its better organization are secured by relevant economic mechanisms. The economic reform is aimed at this. However, this is not enough. Our entire training system, personnel policy, structure of wages, taxation system, everything that decides the place of the individual in the community, must be pervaded by respect for -- a sort of cult of -- work. There is no point in concealing the fact that various manifestations of demoralization, idleness, bribery, and dishonest schemes have crept into parts of the system. This is a formidable phenomenon and one that is dangerous for our future.

The right to work guaranteed by the state and the obligation to work are inseparable. Socialism must not be a refuge for idlers. Those who want to live at the cost of others, speculators, and schemers must be made to feel bad, very bad in Poland. [applause]

Martial law and the stringent laws it entails makes it easier to start a decisive fight against parasitism, speculation, and native millionaires who do not plow or sow. We must liberate ourselves more resolutely from plagues -- drunkenness, hooligans, and theft. We shall do it in a law-abiding way, but without taking excessive care over being delicate. A value that must regain its shine and true meaning is social justice, which is the most distinctive quality of the idea of socialism. We are not striving for misconceived equality. Productive work which is more than average, and particular talents, must be justly rewarded. No sensible man will undermine this principle. At the same time, however, the interests of the individual are subordinated in our political system to the interests of the collective.

Highest wages and incomes should remain in appropriate proportion to the living standard of basic social levels. Justice of the period and strained circumstances require that the criteria of distribution be made sharper. There will be no sense of social justice if deficit goods are not distributed and the burdens of the crisis are not spread according to this criterion.

Social justice must become a lasting and inviolable principle of our social life. It must take deep roots, deep enough for every citizen to be able to say that in this area socialism is superior. We will ensure forever the complete openness of all salaries, from parish executive officer to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. We will ask all organizations active in our country to take similar steps. Openness in distribution of apartments and goods in short supply must be strictly observed. Every official in the state or economic administration discharging a leading function will be officially bound to make a statement concerning his wealth when he is about to take up the duties of his post. The same statement will be required when he leaves the post. Appropriate organs of control will have the task of saying whether the increase in his wealth was according to the law. Cases of bribery or the acceptance of gifts which are clearly designed to curry favor -- cases which are proven -- will, respective of criminal sanctions, entail a life-long disqualification from serving in the state administration. The state has no intention of supervizing the activities of social organizations. It will, however, demand that the law be strictly observed and that the supreme interests of Polish statehood be observed.

The future of the trade union movement gives rise to lively interest. The opinion is becoming more and more widespread that there is a need for political unity of trade unions on the basis of the Constitution and the foundations of the state's foreign policy.

What is also being emphasized is their independent and self-governing [samorzadny] nature, as a counterweight to manifestations of bureaucratization by controlling organs, as a guarantee of the day-to-day interests of the working people. Some workforces are in favor of pluralism in the unions' organizational structures. There also exist other opinions, diametrically different. Activists from all suspended trade unions are coming forward individually with various suggestions. Each of them is examined carefully. Talks are underway and they will continue. There are no ready solutions at the moment. We are not suggesting any centralized model. Trade unions in Poland will be as the working people wish them to be. There are no reasons why the trade union movement, based on representation of individual vocational groups, being gradually reborn from the shopfloor in enterprises and at the same time shielded from a repetition of political manipulations by opponents of socialism, should not be able to resume its activities as soon as the situation in the country ensures its normal functioning. The next few months should bring concrete answers to this question.

In the current conditions, it is necessary to support the initiative of creating social commissions at enterprises. It is necessary to strive to have them be comprised of people who enjoy the confidence of the workforce. Daily concerns of workforces and the safety and hygiene of work cannot be affected. Managements have the duty to help and to cooperate with social commissions.

May it please the house! Much has been said about the place of the young generation in the country's social life. Young Poles have the right to expect that in their own country they will be able to find clear prospects for advancement earned by work, a vision of their own future.

Their fears for their jobs and their apartments are understandable, particularly in conditions of deep crisis. In agreement with the youth organizations, the government will act for the cause of the younger generation as it shapes its personnel, housing, credit and educational policies. Nothing will be done about young people without young people. On them depends to the greatest extent when, and how quickly, Poland will catch up with escaping time.

The aspirations of young citizens, to participate in matters of the state, are a valuable and natural phenomenon. Youth, combined with an ideological stance, and with knowledge, is a capital which no nation should squander. We shall open the path more broadly for young people to responsible posts in the state administration, in industry, everywhere where routine and lack of imagination should lose out against energy and initiative.

The young organizations will receive for approval a draft proposal of comprehensive actions aimed at helping the young farmers. It is necessary to finally halt at last the depopulation and aging of the Polish countryside.

Political tension last year encompassed a considerable part of the higher educational establishments. It weakened the pace of scientific work. Painful gaps arose in the process of studies. By reinstating harmony and order, conditions for normal work are created in the colleges. The community has the right to expect that they will be properly exploited.

Polish science has unquestioned achievements to its credit. It has a great potential which Poland could never boast before. Many scholars have won for themselves profound respect and moral prestige. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the shortcomings. Science constitutes only a part of the nation's life; its duty is to serve the community.

In many institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences, in colleges and in ministries, the practical results of research are too negligible. It is necessary to increase the discipline of scientific research. The state must reserve for itself supervision of the effectiveness, particularly that of costly research. In future, misguided specialist advice [chybione ekspertyzy] should not be repeated.

Scientific cadres will be assessed from the viewpoint of their real achievements and personal contribution in raising new generations of the Polish intelligentsia. We wish to continue the democratization of academic life, to ensure the self-government and the autonomy of colleges. The government is interested in the Sejm's approval of the bill on higher education.

But one thing is beyond doubt: Academic freedom cannot be abused for combating socialism, for the anarchization of life. The education revolution and the development of culture are a permanent, valuable part of the social achievements of People's Poland.

In the difficult postwar years, when there was a shortage of literally everything for combating illiteracy -- cheap books, the theater, workers' houses of culture -- resources were always found. Socialism was able to guarantee for artists a broad social reception, and for the public general accessibility to the achievements of culture.

Every stream of artistic creation which serves to integrate the nation and which creates valuable social assets will be surrounded by the solicitous, tolerant patronage of the state. The authorities do not intend to interfere in artistic expression, nor to give preference to one particular style of creative work. Creative experiment must be encouraged; there must be no fear of the criticism of an individual vision of the world. Opposition must be aroused only by a cynical, jeering treatment of one's own state, of one's own past and also by blatantly degenerate customs. Pseudoculture should disappear from our life. No small part of the moral and intellectual responsibility for the course of events last year rests on the representatives of cultural circles. Many people of authority were involved in a bad cause; the voice of many others was inaudible; the voices of commonsense were few. We want to see this as a closed chapter. The state needs the knowledge and social sensitivity of creative circles. Only the advice of proclaimed opponents of the socialist state are not needed at all.

Despite the exceptionally difficult economic conditions, culture will find its proper place in the authorities' undertakings and in the state budget. Let us not forget about its main medium: the book. We are utilizing all possibilities and reserves so that this year there will be an increase of about one-quarter in books published, compared with last year. It is still a low index, but even that task is not easy. We are using reserves for book printing which result from curtailing the number of periodicals, from cutting short the poster and leaflet campaign and from combating waste of paper in offices, in industry and in commerce.

A national cultural council will soon be set up -- a form of partnership of state and social patronage and of particular cultural milieus. A fund for the development of national culture will be set up. The culture of society is borne out above all by person-to-person relationships; the level of participation in cultural life; everyday customs and particularly the culture of the language. The Polish language helped us to endure servitude; it was always our fortress. In this respect we note many changes for the worse. Vulgarisms and primitive expressions have crept into everyday speech. We must combat official jargon and the poverty and crudeness of colloquial speech.

The house will soon receive the teachers' charter. I appeal on this occasion to the upbringers and teachers of Polish young people: May the proper attitude to the socialist state, to patriotic values, be shaped in our schools!

The activity of the mass media helps focus the attention of society. Many journalists and a number of editorial teams have a good understanding of the interests of a socialist society. Part of the journalistic milieu, however, has not yet shown sufficient resistance to demagogy or to arguments from the classic arsenal of Polish reaction. We do not expect either a return to the propaganda of success or to the propaganda of defeat which is so fashionable. Poland needs the truth. If we have success, then it must be portrayed in such a way that the viewer and reader knows what its real price was; and if we have failure then it must be objectively and honestly analyzed. Incompetent propaganda does more real social harm than it brings apparent benefits.

The Polish model of socialist democracy guarantees conditions for the participation of Catholic lay groups in political life, in the executive authorities, and on representative bodies. We will continue on that road. Cooperation between the state and the Catholic Church and other beliefs belongs to permanent principles. The government, enabling the fulfillment of the pastoral mission of the Catholic Church and other beliefs, preserves, in accordance with the Constitution, the lay character of the state. The dialogue continues. We are sincerely interested in it. Differences of opinion should not hide the supreme goal, which is for all Poles the strengthening of the sovereign state. We constantly declare readiness for constructive cooperation. I believe that the permanent contacts between the government and the church will enable all misunderstandings that arise to be cleared up. We do not exhibit them; we are far from being excited by them. The arguments concerning defense of the state's interests are such that their eloquence increases as time passes. Their truth is more evident in the longer view. All discrimination is foreign to us. Chauvinism cannot be reconciled with the dignity of the Polish people.

Let us learn to respect other nations if we also wish to be respected ourselves. There will be no room in Poland for anti-Soviet antics or for megalomania and nationalism. Taking part in the struggle for national liberation and Polish statehood were citizens of Poland of various denominations and nationalities. This is an indelible part of our history. We value and respect the contribution of national minorities to our life and culture. We wish that all those who live on Polish soil have the full possibility of developing their own distinctive features and have a permanent place in the structure of present-day Poland.

The Military Council of National Salvation receives with satisfaction the spontaneous emergence in various parts of the country of committees of national salvation. It is a good thing that the new national understanding is taking shape spontaneously in everyday practice, among people at the same factory or in the same place of residence. One must seek new forms of concrete interaction between all patriotic forces for the sake of joint interests -- local and also national interests. We do not prejudge future national forms of this new phenomenon in our social life. It is our wish that it create its own regional structures and national representation as an organ of the front of national understanding. In the long term, it ought to have a permanent place in Polish political life together with the right of legislative initiative and with the right of possessing its own press organ.

On behalf of the Military Council of National Salvation, I wish to state that the ideas of understanding, dialogue and cooperation between patriotic forces retain their topicality. [applause]

May it please the house! The Polish economy is still experiencing a deep crisis. Its roots are embedded in the 1970's. However, this crisis would not have taken on such dimensions if it were not for the blows which were dealt to the whole of the national economy after August 1980. The severe effects of these blows will be presented in the report which is being prepared on the state of the economy on the threshold of 1982. Improving the economy and leading it out onto the road of development is a necessary condition for better satisfying the needs of the present generations and for creating a worthy inheritance for those still to come.

Nature has given our country valuable raw materials. We possess a considerable industrial potential and a sufficient area of land that can be cultivated. We have a cadre numbering many millions of educated people, good specialists. There are no objective reasons for the Polish nation having to avail itself of charitable aid. We are not doomed to vegetation and to eternal lines and empty shops. We can create with our own hands the material foundations for a better life, not in the next century, but during the next few years. With this in mind we have undertaken in such unfavorable conditions a program for the thorough reconstruction of the structure of the economy as well as a general reform of the system of managing the economy.

Other countries needed many years for similar reforms. We have no time. All our actions, our whole economic program, are geared to the good of man, to improving the material and social conditions of life for every citizen.

The first and most important matter is the provision of foodstuffs to the nation. Poland can and must feed itself on its own. We give this task not only to agriculture and to the agricultural-foodstuffs industry, but we give it to the whole national economy, to the whole state administration. Means to produce food will be increased. There are already more than before. However, it is still too little as far as concrete needs are concerned.

The task of reorienting industrial production toward the needs of agriculture is quite topical. In the first place it is necessary to supply agriculture with the means which provide the speediest and greatest production increases. We confirm the lasting nature of the principles of agricultural policy so far; the inviolability of family agricultural farms, and equal treatment of all sectors of agriculture -- individual, cooperative and state. We recognize the need to maintain farmers' incomes at a level which is not below those of the urban population. We wish the Polish countryside to grow ever more prosperous. It cannot, however, take place solely by raising the prices of agricultural produce and of food. The basis for increasing the wealth of the countryside must be, above all, increased agricultural production, and the better, much better, utilization of the existing, not inconsiderable, agricultural production potential. Production costs must be lowered. Agricultural cultivation must be constantly raised. It is particularly necessary to make effective use of every bit of arable land, forests and lakes. Land must produce and we cannot afford to waste it. It belongs to the whole of society and that is why the issue of how it serves the whole nation cannot belong to those who manage it and to them alone.

Productive, profitable and well-organized agriculture is the only guarantee for the future against food blackmail. We are experiencing it now. I will not conceal the fact that it will lower the total production of food in the country. It will deal particularly nasty blows to livestock. However, we are capable of ensuring for ourselves our own, home-produced bread. Last year's harvest yielded relatively large quantities of crops. I address myself to farmers: Sell them to the state now. I appeal for support for the grain loan, and for discharging contractual agreements.

An improvement in society's housing conditions is the second issue. A total liquidation of the housing shortage, ensuring a self-contained apartment for every family, is not possible over a short period of time. There do, however, exist quite real premises so that over the next 3 years at least 2 million Poles can move into new apartments. In order to make use of this chance, better work and greater initiative from those on whom the quantity and quality of apartments under construction depend, are essential.

It is necessary to get an extensive social movement underway around this matter. It should fight -- I stress fight since routine and dragging one's feet are enemies of new solutions -- fight for new, cheaper technology in apartment-building, for lowering costs, for better organization and rational utilization of the not inconsiderable expenditure earmarked for housing construction.

It is necessary to condemn the squandering of resources, not to agree to negligent performance, and to find local possibilities for the production of building materials. The young citizens, who most painfully feel the housing shortages, we encourage to create small self-governing cooperatives, and to boldly avail themselves of the facilities created by the state for those who want to contribute their own work to building homes.

Housing has become much more expensive because supply prices have undergone changes. We shall, however, step up credit aid for the members of housing cooperatives and for those building privately. Those who cannot afford a cooperative apartment will -- as far as possible -- be assured by the state and the regional authorities of an apartment financed by local authorities.

Action will also be continued to regain dwelling premises which are at present occupied for administrative purposes. There will be no departure from the principle that one family may possess only one apartment. Social justice also requires that the principles of rent payments should be standardized in a comprehensible and logical way.

The neglect and delays in ancilliary building are universally known. It is possible to spend the night at many housing estates but it is difficult to live there. There exist real possibilities for the development in a tangible way, even in the current five year plan, of the commerce and services network; to guarantee for every child who needs it a place in a creche or kindergarten. The fundamental development of health service premises is also a realistic task. It is necessary to finish with the system of taking 15 years to build a single hospital.

More than half of the community lives in the towns. The condition of public facilities, particularly urban transportation, is bad. Traveling to work is very burdensome; it seriously reduces peoples' leisure time. The relevant steps are being taken to halt the deterioration of urban transportation, and subsequently to ensure its improvement. Thanks to the considerable multifaceted help of the Soviet Union, personally announced by Comrade Brezhnev, the construction of a metro system in Warsaw will be commenced next year, among other things. [applause]

To regain economic sovereignty -- this is the third matter. We cannot go on living on credit ad infinitum. It is necessary to extricate ourselves from the situation in which the rhythm of production, supplies to the economy, and even deliveries of ordinary spare parts depend on gaining credits. The main road to this is stepping up exports and improving economic efficiency.

We stand consistently for the development of trade exchange with all countries. We maintain our application to the International Monetary Fund. We wish to acquit ourselves of the undertaken international obligations. We wanted -- and still want -- to solve the difficulties in meeting our payments obligations by way of agreement, by finding solutions which correspond both to the interests of Poland and to its creditors. The country's payments situation, and consequently also the situation in trade with the capitalist countries, has become considerably more complicated recently.

Credits to purchase materials and components have been halted. They are essential for industry. The U.S. Government did not agree even to a credit purchase of agricultural produce which we have traditionally imported from the United States. These measures seriously complicate the process of emerging from the crisis. As a result it will be more difficult than we expected. This must be stated clearly. However, this will not make us abandon the path we have chosen, the path leading to repair and deep reform of the economy.

In this situation it can be seen particularly vividly what it means for Poland to cooperate economically with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries: a stable, long-term cooperation based on principles of equality. Countries of the socialist community in this difficult period for us show us understanding and give us priceless internationalist aid. The scope of Poland's international economic ties must, therefore, be charted in the direction of our reliable partners, our closest neighbors, the entire CEMA system. This is a great chance for our economy; it is the conclusion we ought to reach and are reaching from our most recent experiences.

I have outlined three important socioeconomic goals. Attaining them is not an easy task. However, these goals are within reach of our real potential. The key condition for implementing them is growth of production and revival of the economy. Without this we will not increase exports, nor will we improve market supplies. Economic reform based on the independence of enterprises and self-management of workforces on the basis of central planning of the directions of the country's economic development should help here. The government will consistently implement it in accordance with the regulations passed by the house on 24 September. This also applies to self-management bodies in enterprises that we regard as an integral element for complete introduction of the reform. The process of reforming the economy has already started. It is difficult and complicated, not free of risks, especially as we have started it in a highly unfavorable situation.

It will fulfill social expectations only when institutional reforms are accompanied by a civic attitude on the part of workforces and managements of enterprises. It mainly depends on them how far the new economic mechanisms will be used in order to increase management efficiency, for the best use of human labor, for an economical use of energy, fuels, and raw materials, for the elimination of waste of materials, for better adaptation of production to social needs, and for higher quality of goods.

Economic reform should create an increased demand for innovations and for technical progress. It will create fresh possibilities for creative work, for invention. This will favor the consolidation of engineering and technical personnel, economists, foremen -- the entire technical supervisory staff. New and better conditions will be created for the activity of the Supreme Technical Organization [not], the Polish Economic Association, and other social and professional organizations. The inventors and rationalizers movement is particularly needed because we must do it ourselves to much greater degree today, both on the national scale and in individual enterprises.

In order to achieve results from the economic reform, we must have consideration and responsibility on all levels of management -- right from the very beginning of its introduction. Egoism, loss of social perspective, and caring only for one's own interests, may cost us dearly. The source of profit should not be the citizen's pocket, but better organization, thriftiness and discipline, and high productivity. Increasing profits and covering up wastage by means of price increases is contrary to the ideals of economic reform, and threatens to distort it.

Unfortunately, in the first weeks when considerably increased powers of enterprises were in force, not a few cases of failure to observe the adopted rules, use of excessive prices not justified by material and labor outlay, were observed. What some enterprises do in this respect is real robbery; it aims against the interests of the working people. The socialist state, by its nature, is bound to defend them and this will be done. The government will energetically act against such practices. Already the State Price Commission and the ministers of finance and domestic trade have been committed to increase control. A special price inspectorate will be set up; enterprises which abuse their power will be deprived of the right to establish prices.

Honest price calculation should also become the concern of workforces. We particularly rely on the awareness of the working class. Toleration of particularism, belief in the principle that everybody should produce cheaply but only our enterprise has the right to set prices at will, is a short-sighted policy -- a boomerang which will return to every worker carrying inflation and higher costs of living.

Citizen deputies, too many promises were made in the past which were never fulfilled. We need the truth even if it is most bitter.

This applies to the economic sphere and to family budgets, too. This truth is as follows: Sacrifices are needed today so that in the not too distant future it will be possible to live better. Before us we have a necessary but painful reform of retail prices. It will not solve the problems of the home market overnight and will not fill shop shelves straight away. But without this reform it will not be possible to restore market equilibrium or the links between towns and villages. Without it we shall not get rid of the curse of lining up or the burden of ration coupon sales. The required structure of production or of consumption will not be shaped either. The keynote aims of the economic reform will not be achieved and the zloty will not be strengthened, either. You see, there is no other way of strengthening the value of money than by strictly linking the population's monetary incomes with the size of the production of goods and services.

The fears connected with the prices reform which has been announced are understandable. This is why so much importance is being attached to the fairest possible system of compensation. Opinions and demands of citizens are being examined thoroughly and with full seriousness. Relying on these opinions, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has prepared a fresh variant -- which is well known to you, citizen deputies -- concerning the prices of heating and energy and concerning compensation connected with the change in price of food, heating and energy.

The voice of public opinion in this matter has been and still is the object of careful attention and analysis. It is important that the resources which have been allocated for compensation should really be divided in the fairest possible way. You see, the total amount of the compensation cannot be increassed. This would deprive the operation itself of any meaning and would exacerbate the difficulties instead of creating the conditions for overcoming them. The government will also introduce a system of compensation for an increase in the cost of living caused by price increases of industrial goods which are of fundamental importance for the lives of families. This system will function in a way that ensures that the consumption of these goods does not go down. Compensation for increased costs of purchasing the means of production for farmers will be carried out by increasing purchasing prices. The government will ensure additional assistance for young married couples for whom the increase in prices will make their start in life more difficult. These couples will have the right to draw credit to an amount of at least Z100,000, three-quarters of which can be written off [umorzenie].

As of next month, the period of paying benefits to mothers taking advantage of maternity leave will also be extended to 24 months. Structural transformations and the economic reform will have an effect on the geography of employment. Changes in the place of work and the need to retrain will directly affect workers and their families. Decisions have already been taken aimed at alleviating the difficulties connected with this. These decisions should promote the transfer of workers to where they are most needed and where their work will best and most usefully serve society.

Many spheres and branches of the economy are feeling the pinch of a shortage of workers. The extraction industry and agriculture are feeling this shortage in particular. Great need for increased numbers of workers are present in the small-scale manufacturing industries, in the craft industries and in private trade and services. The state will support their development. They have a permanent place in the system of the national economy. The state is giving and will continue to give assistance to workers who find work in these sectors. One thing is sure: There will be no shortage of work in Poland for anyone who wishes to, and knows how to, work well.

May it please the house! The incorrect system of wages, which is not closely linked with the results of one's labor, has resulted in harmful consequences as far as the consciousness and behavior of many people are concerned. The well-known saying, one which is downright dismal -- no matter whether you stand or lie down, your monthly wage is yours anyway -- is a reflection of this.

We must change this. The first step has already been taken. Along with the commencement of the economic reform the wages fund of enterprises must be worked out by the enterprises themselves. Another step is ahead of us. It is necessary to work out and to implement such principles of remuneration that the magnitude and changes in individual wages should depend exclusively on the quantity, quality and social need of the work. These are already being prepared. Work on the new system of remuneration must be accelerated. Remuneration must again become an incentive to good work. In Poland, 18 million employed people earn money to keep the other 18 million citizens; those who are of preproduction age and those who are now enjoying their well-deserved rest. Such is the structure of our society. The management of the fruit of labor of the group engaged in production is thus a particularly responsible task.

The socialist state must, above all, protect the weakest. That is why it will set the minimum level of wages, retirement pay and old-age pensions. Despite economic difficulties, obligations entered into in the social sphere will be implemented. We must, in particular, start the process of liquidation of the old system of retirement pay and old-age pensions and we must ensure the growth of all retirement benefits to correspond with the increase of average wages in the socialized economy.

The new retirement benefits act will regulate these matters. The government will soon examine its draft, and subsequently it will be submitted to the house. The system of social insurance for individual farmers will also be modified.

Some regions of the country were affected this year by the particularly dangerous element of floods. The whole country is hurriedly responding to the needs of the flood victims. The dimensions of the human tragedy are moving, but one is also moved by the warm human response and the scope of social help. State organs, the troops, services of order and social services have not abandoned the flood victims and will not leave them without aid.

Citizen deputies, may it please the house! One cannot choose the history of our fatherland, and one cannot change it for a different one. Nations inherit their history with everything that is good and bad in it. However, as far as the historical heritage is concerned, one must make choices; one must salvage everything conducive to the well-being of the state and the nation and reject the things that led to chaos and disaster.

We have long and glorious traditions; our contribution to the history of progressive social thought is fine. Today we are continuing the very same struggle which our predecessors had to fight, against the forces of backwardness, anarchy, against the narrow mentality of a petty nobleman. We will make more extensive use of traditional patriotic values, civic values rooted in Polish consciousness. Time has blunted many old conflicts, verified many a simplified assessment. In the history of Poland, especially the history that the young generation is getting to know, there should be no silences. We are not afraid of the truth. It is we who history showed were right. One in three, if not one in two Polish families has relations or close friends east of the River Bug and west of the River Odra, on all continents. This is one of the extraordinarily complicated characteristic features of the fate of our nation.

The anti-Polish actions being organized in the West recently are an evil for the country and for those who have emigrated. They are striving with the help of traitors and deserters to drive a wedge between the country and fellow countrymen who live abroad. This presents the threat of severing for many years the natural bonds between hundreds of thousands of Polish families. After the lifting of martial law the government will continue the passport policy initiated in April 1981. I am convinced that the maintenance of the line of renewal in passport policy will not allow bonds to become weakened, for a split to emerge between the country and expatriate Poles. There will be no Polish-Polish war in the country; there will also be no war between the country and emigrants. I assure you that Polish citizens, if they want to, may return to the country safely, regardless of the circumstances of their departure and how long they have been abroad. This does not apply to those who are actively and consciously involved in antisocialist, antistate activity.

May it please the Sejm: Citizen deputies, Poland lives alternating between doubt and hope. When will wounds heal? How long is it going to take to come out of the crisis? Every Polish family is preoccupied with these questions. I predict difficult and severe times, times of sacrifices and work. We must not remain static and get absorbed in arguments when other nations are moving forward. The distance is increasing instead of diminishing. This is all the more reason why we should reach mutual understanding and accord. The stake is immense: the establishment of independence and sovereignty, the strengthening of the socialist state, and the reconstruction of Poland's standing in Europe.

At the outset of this century, a poet said: May we want to want. It is necessary to repeat this call now when the century is drawing to a close. It depends on ourselves whether we shall succeed in extricating the country out of poverty and adversity. We are improverished and harassed by the crisis today. But we have, after all, one immeasurable treasure: We are in our own place and what we have is ours. We have a socialist state that has been saved from disaster. There are also signs of animation in some departments and branches of the economy. I do not want to overestimate them, but they cannot be ignored. We thank coal and copper miners whose growing extraction makes it possible for us to take the first deeper breath. The government will observe its obligations with regard to miners. The temporary extension of working hours in the national economy and increased discipline are having perceptible effects. Had it not been for the consequences of the economic blockade, they would be greater. Economists are estimating that in the second half of this year a certain improvement in the market situation might occur. Within a year, the most painful difficulties might be behind us. Two or 3 years will allow equilibrium to be restored. However, there is one condition for this -- that calm not be disturbed, that we get down to hard work, that we manage more efficiently, and that the disease does not relapse.

And here, from this high Sejm tribune, I appeal to the whole nation: At this historic moment we face both danger and opportunity. It is necessary to make a choice. I believe that we shall be up to the task and that we shall save our homeland, Poland. [applause]

Deputies Remarks' Reported

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[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- Representatives of all deputies' clubs and circles of the Polish parliament (i.e. of the PUWP, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the Pax Catholic Association, the Polish Catholic-Social Union, and the Christian Social Association) have taken the floor in parliament after the speech delivered by the chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski today. Here are the main theses of these statements:

Deputy Kazimierz Barcikowski said that PUWP Club of Deputies shares the appraisals contained in the speech delivered by Gen Jaruzelski. This will find expression in our vote for the adoption of the law confirming the legality of the decrees issued by the Council of State as well as for the Sejm resolution. We will vote in the belief that a Sejm decision confirming the legality of the martial law will be of profound importance for the shaping of both internal and external situation of the Polish state.

The Polish Armed Forces, stressed the speaker, entered the political life not in order to slow down the reforms, but to secure conditions for their implementation, and above all in order to remove the threat to motherland and direct the country onto the road of constructive work.

A meeting of the PUWP Central Committee will be held in the near future devoted to the definition of the role of the PUWP under martial law and in conditions of changes taking place in state life. The key problem of the leading role of the PUWP will be dealt with again in compliance with the principles of alliance with other parties and social forces. The idea of agreement of all social forces standing on the ground of the socialist political system remains valid.

The current debate among workers' crews concerning the issue of revival of the trade union movement as an independent factor identifying itself with the socialist system will undoubtedly lead to a definition of the nature and forms of this movement. The critical appraisal of activities of elements hostile to socialism within Solidarnosc cannot be applied to the great majority of Solidarnosc members who are good workers and citizens.

Barcikwoski devoted a part of his speech to the question of pressure which is currently exerted, using all means, on the Polish authorities by the United States and also some of the capitalist states influenced by the U.S. This is an overt attempt at interference in Polish affairs, Barcikowski stated. We are being urged, in fact, to return to the situation from before December 13 although we know, and the U.S. knows it, that this had been an abnormal and, what is more, unstable situation. It had been the leaders of Solidarnosc who declared confrontation, did not accept and opposed the state of affairs which prevailed then. Let us consider calmly, however, whether the managers of U.S. policy can in earnest expect, what is more, believe, that their demands will be met by the government of a sovereign state. What is the true aim behind the political furor and ruthless economic pressure on Poland, asked the deputy, and voiced an opinion that the aim is to exploit politically the Polish events for domestic needs of the U.S. and their allies according to old patterns of anti-Communist propaganda. Also, the aim seems to be to maintain and intensify tension in Poland through external anti-Polish demonstrations and pressure. In light of that, Kazimierz Barchikowski said, various kinds of a more or less overt encouragement to fight against the state authority uttered by Polish voices must evoke all the greater moral and political opposition. There is no such authority which would countervail the cost of inciting against socialist Poland, said Barcikowski.

Speaking on behalf of the UPP [United Peasant Party] Deputies Club, Sejm Deputy Jerzy Szymanek emphasized that this club shares the opinions and conclusions contained [in] Premier Jaruzelski's speech. Considering the proposed government intentions as complying with the need of the society, the UPP Club voices the conviction that their realization is giving the hope of overcoming the mounting difficulties and opening new perspectives. The UPP Deputies Club, said the speaker, gives its support to the presented government programme and will act towards its implementation.

We share Gen. Jaruzelski's stand expressed in his memorable address of six weeks ago and reaffirmed today, to the effect that there can be no return to the period from before December 13 as much as there can be no return to what we had prior to August 1980.

The mode of exercising power is a fundamental significance for the proper functioning of the state. On this point the United Peasant Party is resolutely for a decisive strengthening of the importance of representative bodies, i.e. the Sejm and the People's Councils. It is also important to properly define the place of political parties in the system of authority in the country: The parties should not replace the state authorities and administrative ones in particular. Provided the cooperation between the parties proceeds on a partnerlike basis, a tripartisan system might be a significant element in the correct functioning of the system of authority in our country. We fully share Gen. Jaruzelski's view that there is still the need and a genuine chance for the creation of a national accord front.

We feel gratitude to all who are rushing to us with help, regardless of the geographical latitude they live at. Words of special gratitude need be expressed to the peoples of the Soviet Union. However, there are forces, including the governments of some NATO countries, which would like to use the decision on the proclamation of martial law as a pretext for undermining the foundations of the policy of detente. The anti-Polish campaign launched in some circles of the West as well as the financial and economic sanctions constituting a form of inadmissible interference in internal affairs are aimed at our interests and do not serve world detente. These sanctions have been applied mainly by the United States.

Supporting on behalf of the DP [SD] Deputies' Club the martial law bill, Deputy Jan Fajecki stated that no decision would satisfy today all the citizens. But it must stem from the knowledge of conditions of the foreign policy and the internal situation of the country. It must stem from full conviction that under present circumstances it is the only right decision for the good of our state and the entire nation. I am fully aware, said the speaker, of the burden of the Democratic Party's co-responsibility for the fate of the state and the nation resulting from the decision that the Sejm will take today. Simultaneously, we treat the martial law as an internal matter of the Poles, as a state of higher necessity, as a transient period between what existed before December 13 and what we should jointly, under national agreement, construct in the name of a better future and a return to the road of development.

It seems there is no need at this forum for still another recapitulation of the actions which were leading straight to smashing the Polish socialist statehood, which also caused a fast decrease in Poland's prestige on the international arena. The exploitation of the pure intentions of the social, national spurt [as received] of the working people by political groups hostile to the national interests of Poles and the interests of socialism is today obvious, especially after the infamous, though loud, Radom and Gdansk resolutions of Solidarnosc leadership. The inspirations and ties of these groups with Western centres of indiscriminate struggle against the socialist system have also become clear and transparent to the entire society. President Reagan's policy caused by the failure in this political and psychological warfare, the NATO resolutions, the speeches of numerous Western politicians, the current propaganda are the best proof of that.

Only the Polish socialist state which finds strong support in international alliances with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community is a guarantee of independent national existence of the Poles.

Deputy Zenon Komender took the floor on behalf of the Pax Catholic Deputies Club. Speaking about the dramatic period now experienced by our nation and our state, he pointed out that the use of drastic methods was necessary to reverse the course of events which were anarchizing the social life, destroying the economy, undermining the material foundations of social existence and the functioning of the state. Analysis of these processes and elimination of their causes is the principal condition of getting out of the present social and political crisis. This should be the objective of the strivings of all the milieus which feel co-responsible for our nation and state.

The speaker declared that also in the present conditions the Pax association wished to be one of the authentic social forces involved in the shaping of the socialist development of Poland, in tune with the needs of the contemporary generations. We are fundamentally of political odds with those forces which would like to eliminate socialism in Poland or to weaken the socialist state.

The Pax group, Komender added, accepts with satisfaction and supports fully the policy speech of the chairman of the National Redemption Council and supports the stance of the government on foreign policy issues.

"We must draw conclusions from the recent experience in order to shape our future in the proper way. Referring to Primate Jozef Glemp's recent homily, Zenon Komender said there was a need today for an honest and open dialogue not only between the authorities and society but also between and within all the social milieus.

Deputy Kazimierz Morawski (Christian Social Association) said, among other things that taking the decision on introducing martial law was a necessity. The Polish statehood, an indispensable factor of national development and its sovereign existence, was protected by the Polish Army. One has to realize that without guarantees of social order and discipline, as well as without respect for the state, we will never achieve a genuine renewal. We shall not achieve it unless there is realization of the fact that Poland can exist as a sovereign and independent state only as a socialist state, linked by a close alliance and friendship with the USSR and the states of the socialist commonwealth.

Deputy Morawski stressed that the present state, being a requirement of our raison d'etat, opens the way for building a strong statehood, with a just and democratic system of exercising power, which would combine the universal principles of socialism with the values of Polish national tradition and the requirements of a modern society. This direction of development of the socialist Poland should find expression in an efficient state and efficient functioning of the authorities as well as in democratically functioning representative bodies, which would express social opinion and provide ground for criticism and genuine supervision over the functioning of the administration. On behalf of the circle of deputies of the Christian Social Association the speaker voiced full solidarity with the content of the address delivered by the chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Deputy Janusz Zablocki (Polish Catholic-Social Union) pointed to the disorientation of a part of the society and stressed that in this situation the current Sejm session and the address by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski is of great importance. In his address Gen. Jaruzelski developed and precized [as received] the political line presented on December 13 when he had assured that there was no return to erroneous practices from before August, 1980, and that not a single Polish problem could be solved by force in the long run.

On behalf of the deputies' circle of the Polish Catholic-Social Union the speaker voiced the belief that in the present difficult situation Poland found herself in this line charted the right direction for the national effort, despite all severity of the rigours of martial law. He also pointed out that the deputies' circle he represented did not conceal its doubts and reservations concerning the legal aspect of the decree on martial law and would not, therefore, vote for its approval.

The speaker devoted a part of his address to economic questions, voicing the hope that the society would show enough prudence not to heed those who call on sabotaging production. He also deplored the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. administration and some other states.

The speaker warned of the danger of a habit of exercising power in an arbitrary manner. For that reason alone, he said, the martial law should not last any longer than it is absolutely necessary and the restrictions connected with it should be eased as soon as possible.

The deputy stressed that gradual winning of the society for co-participation is a condition of raising the country. National agreement, although more difficult, is still possible. The important elements in this connection are a further positive development of state-church relations, resumption of activities by the independent and self-governed trade unions, including Solidarnosc, as soon as possible, and a just appraisal of the healthy social current of striving for the renewal.

Here are the statements of other deputies:

Deputy Edmund Meclewski, non-party, said there was a close interdependence between the Polish-Soviet alliance and the Polish border on the (Oder river). The alliance is and will remain the corner stone of the Polish raison d'etat.

Deputy Edmund Ismanczyk, non-party, spoke of prestige of our People's Army and the Catholic Church. Although these are so different forces, the speaker said, their durability is and will be a permanent element of our life, both now and after the internal peace is restored. We should also aim at consolidation of the cooperation of the government and the church in the service of national reconciliation (?and) we must achieve in the coming months, if not weeks.

A genuine renewal of our country requires that the working class has not only a strong party, but also strong, independent trade unions, also surrounded by respect of the entire society.

Deputy Karol Malcuzynski, non-party: There is a danger that a prolongation of martial law can adversely affect the attitudes of the young generation, which accounts for 60 percent of the Polish society. Therefore a shortening of martial law and seeing to it, in accordance with the spirit of Premier Jaruzelski's address, that it does not manifest itself in the form of a policy of revenge, would be a socially beneficial solution.

More Deputies' Comments

LD252234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Unidentified correspondent's report on 25 Dec Sejm session]

[Excerpts] The deputies' debate which was set in motion by the speech of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and premier, is into its eighth hour now.

Our national dramas, the next speaker, Deputy Edmund Osmanczyk, of no party affiliation, said have taken place to date on a scale of thousands or several million people. This time, this drama was played out with the participation of tens of millions of Poles at home and abroad. Thus, we have lived through a time that is unprecedented in our history. This was all no doubt highly dramatic but it was not tragic. Martial law, thanks to the discipline of the People's Army and of the public, did not turn out to be tragic either. Everything that follows remains in our own hands.

Deputy Osmanczyk said that the matter of our propaganda is a problem making the implementation of the program of national salvation more difficult -- not so much our propaganda as the counterpropaganda in response to the attacks on our country by 11 broadcasting stations financed by Western powers. The deputy expressed the feeling that the Sejm should be to an even greater extent than hitherto the venue of meetings and negotiations between all groupings and activists, without exception, who are prepared for national conciliation. In conclusion, Deputy Edmund Osmanczyk stated that the matter of national conciliation means today the need to find a swift and effective way for our young generation, the most numerous in our history, to see ahead of it as quickly as possible a wide-open road toward jointly ruling the state.

Another speaker, Deputy Karol Malcuzynski, no party affiliation, referred in his speech to the introduction of martial law as contradicting Polish traditions. We ought to reflect, he stated, on how we can revive the chance of renewal which is possible only through dialogue between the authorities and various social forces. In the view of the deputy, a shortening of martial law would be a favorable solution for the country.

After the evening break at about 2100 [2200 GMT], the next speaker was Deputy Janusz (Szymanowski) and after him Deputy Witold Zakrzewski.

The debate is continuing.

Barcikowski Speech

LD261346 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1110 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, given at the Sejm in Warsaw on 25 January on behalf of the PZPR Deputies' Club, recorded]

[Text] Citizen speaker. May it please the house: The PZPR Deputies' Club shares the assessment and program assumptions contained in the speech by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] chairman. We express this by voting to pass the law endorsing the force of law of the Council of State decrees and by voting for the resolution of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. We do this in the conviction that the decision of the house affirming the justification and [words indistinct] of the state of martial law will have a great significance for the formation of both the internal and external situation in the Polish state.

Nobody can accuse us, the supreme authorities of the Polish state, of not showing patience and the will to search for an agreement in the past months. Numerous proofs of this have been given by the Sejm. Unfortunately, our desire for agreement based on the principles of the socialist system and the renewal [odnowa] were taken as a sign of weakness in both the state and the system. Instead of encouraging them to search jointly for solutions to the problems facing the nation, the opposing forces utilized them to escalate activities and demands aimed against the constitutional order, the bases of existence and security of citizens and the state.

Poland, in the eyes of the world, which was taken by surprise by this, sank into deeper and deeper anarchy and disorganization of her internal life.

In this situation, the use of extraordinary measures to defend Polish statehood became inevitable. Nobody can accuse us and say that he did not know the warnings. The fact that all essential means to defend the system of government and constitutional order would be used was repeated many times, including from the Sejm tribune. It is not our fault that all these many warnings were ignored, that the incomprehensible recklessness of some and the uncompromising aggressiveness of others stifled the ability to think realistically, to assess the situation realistically.

We remember, after all, the rising disquiet which gripped broad circles of society about their own fate, the fate of their families and of the whole country, being propelled toward confrontation, and toward self-destruction.

When all means of political influence and agreement had failed, when our state and its citizens found themselves facing the ultimate threat, the WRON formed itself and took upon itself the supreme historic responsibility for the country's and the nation's fate. This is an act of great significance for saving the statehood and safeguarding the main interests of the nation.

The Polish People's Army entered the arena of political life not in order to put a check [hamowac] on the reforms which were just beginning, but in order to create conditions for their implementation; not in order to protect anybody but in order to ensure the security of all, but above all in order to avert the danger to the homeland and to direct the country on to the road of constructive work for the social good.

This is evidenced by the conditions of work of the Sejm in the [word indistinct] of the state of martial law and the legislative work being carried on with great intensity, which have a basic significance for the reform of our statehood.

We all need profound and honest reflection on the extremely hard experiences of our history, including the experiences of the recent period. This applies, I think, to us deputies but also to all political forces active in socialist Poland. Our party took on this work in the preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The result of it was the congress resolutions.

In the nearest future we shall convene a session of the Central Committee, devoted to defining the role of the party during the period of the state of martial law and to the changes taking place in Poland's social life. We shall return to the key problems -- more topical today than at any other time -- of the party's leading role in the socialist sociopolitical system, in accordance with principles of alliance with other parties, with social forces. We shall be guided by the aspiration of defining the principles of action and cooperation that will purge any and all possibilities of returning to old mistakes from practice and which will at the same time create a lasting basis for social agreement and trust.

The idea of an agreement among all social forces that proceeds from the position of the socialist system remains topical. The agreement has the important goal of rallying round the most extensive social circles in the cause of overcoming the economic difficulties facing the country and of effecting the necessary reforms and changes in our life. The formation if civic national salvation committees which has begun in the provinces may develop in this direction. Our party will facilitate the implementation of this idea. [Words indistinct] identifying with socialist system. Discussions among workforces on this, under way now, will beyond doubt lea' to clarifying views and to defining the nature and forms of this movement.

[Word indistinct] assessment of actions within Solidarity perpetrated by elements hostile to socialism using this organization in the struggle against the constitutional order in the state, cannot be applied to the overwhelming majority of members, good workers and citizens and often comrades.

I think we all are aware that it is necessary to draw fundamental conclusions from our more distant and not so distant past, serving the cause of strengthening the state. Events preceding the martial law laid bare -- and not for the first time, though this time with particular forcefulness -- the weakness of civilian state structures, their lack of resilience to social shocks. It was too easy for opponents of our system to find an arena for their actions. They encountered too weak obstacles, both in society and organs of authority. This stems, among other things, from our flippant attitude toward executing the rigors of the law and toward observing the legal order. This applies both to representatives of the authorities and to citizens.

There is no other way to change this state of affairs, other than by the introduction of and universal adherence to strict principles of legality binding in equal measure on citizens and representatives of the authorities alike. Proposals for new legal institutions, the constitutional tribunal and tribunal of state, made by General Jaruzelski, should serve this. The thing, however, is this: As usual, universal practice will decide and it still leaves much to be desired. Hence the conclusion that the Sejm must put the execution of the law in the center of attention to no lesser degree than the discharge of power.

Work is under way in the Sejm on a wide range of acts connected with the economic reform. They in essence concern making enterprises independent, increasing the influence of the workforces on their functioning, naturally within the framework of general legal regulations, and safeguarding the interests of the whole society.

Work is continuing on the higher education act. It provides for extension of self-management prerogatives of higher educational establishments. In the near future, the Sejm will get draft acts on People's Councils, electoral regulations for elections to the councils and on cooperatives.

I have mentioned the most important acts being prepared now. The guiding principle of these acts is to create self-management foundations in our state and in our socioeconomic organizations. The planned decentralization of management and dissemination of self-management principles of management and organization of social life will, I am convinced, create premises for a de facto participation of the widest possible circles of citizens in governing. Thus the social foundations of the people's state will be expanded and its stability and power will grow.

Let us note that work is continuing on these reforms, precisely in the conditions of martial law and under its protection. This corresponds to the supreme goal of this state: the defense of the constitutional order and the creation of necessary conditions for reforms introduced in accordance with the law.

In the period preceding the introduction of martial law, Poland's economic decline was rampant. Consequences of mistakes made in the 1970's were sharply exacerbated by the fact that a ruthless political struggle had been transplanted into the economic area, a struggle leading to a paralysis of all action. The principle, the worse the better, was used with political calculation. Suffice it to recall the issue of coal, of blocking exports, of disorganizing the process of purchasing agriculture produce.

The deepening decline of production was accompanied by unconcealed demagogy and the escalation of demands and postulates without any corresponding material prerequisites to satisfy them. This led -- as it inevitably had to in such conditions -- to a total collapse of the market. We have lost the confidence we had in international cooperation. We are facing today the very difficult task of restoring the muscle to our economy and of bringing back the essential economic balance. This task is all the more difficult because we have become the object of economic sanctions of the capitalist world. Economic cooperation, once lauded, has been turned against us by the brutal refusal to cooperate.

Now, more than at any other time, it is clear that economic improvement depends on our potential, on being able to make use of our own raw materials and on economic cooperation with socialist countries. It depends on to what extent and in what time we shall replace, to the extent to which it is possible, the imports from capitalist areas with materials from domestic sources. Defining this potential and organizing the acquisition of our own materials is the task for Polish scientists and production organizers alike.

In this situation one has to make one's appreciation known for miners and for those employed in excavating industries who, after the introduction of martial law, after liberation from the paralyzing actions of opponents of People's Poland, increased the extraction of coal, ores, the production of sulphur and other minerals. This will make it possible to satisfy better the needs of our own economy and to increase the exports which are needed so much. It will also serve to rebuild confidence in the Polish economy in the world. However, we all have to be aware of the fact that the period when an increase in domestic consumption could have been financed by foreign credits is already irretrievably gone.

Our possibilities for consumption today and in the future will be defined by the results of our own work and our own work alone. The greater the weight of well-organized and productive work for oneself and for us Poles. [as heard]

We must be more humble in measuring, we must work and live more wisely.

In his speech, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski referred to the pressure which is being exerted, using all means, on the authorities of the Polish state by the United States and, under U.S. pressure, by some capitalist countries. This is an overt attempt to interfere in our Polish affairs. In essence they demand that we return to the state of affairs prior to 13 December when we know that was an abnormal state and what is more [words indistinct]. It was not we who spoke of an unavoidable and coming confrontation. The Solidarity leaders were the ones who proclaimed confrontation which means that they did not accept and were opposed outright to the existing state of affairs. They wanted to change it.

Let us, however, consider in a calm way whether the U.S. political leaders can be seriously expecting, what is more whether they can believe, that their demands, because there is no other way of describing them, will be fulfilled by the government of a sovereign state. This has never occurred anywhere. If this is the case, what is the real aim of the political uproar, the ruthless pressure [words indistinct]? But probably the aim is to maintain and fan tension in Poland, to support external opposition and the illusion of this opposition that it can count on the support and help of the United States by using external anti-Polish demonstrations and pressure. This is a search for naive people who would believe in this and who would want to change their country into a territory of constant conflicts which are necessary for the ideas of the United States in order to fight against the socialist camp. What will happen to those naive people as a result of this is not a concern of the United States.

The end of the 1940's and the contemporary tactics of Western powers to fan struggles against the people's authorities in Poland vividly come to mind. At that time the high costs of those struggles were paid by Poles, and today once again the desire to push them onto the same path, toward the same consequences, has been reborn. In light of this, the various more or less open encouragements to struggle against the state authority, emanating from Poles, cannot but give rise to all the greater moral and political opposition. There is no authority that would balance out the costs of acts of incitement against socialist Poland.

May it please the house, the PZPR Deputies' Club is deeply convinced that our fatherland, by wise effort of its sons, will be lifted from the crisis and will commence a new state in its development to the benefit of all working people. [applause]

Sejm Resolution

LD260930 Warsaw PAP in English 0831 GMT 26 Jan 82

["Sejm Resolution" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- The Sejm of the Polish Republic, having heard the address delivered by the Chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, expresses its support for the standpoint he has presented.

The Sejm asserts that the developments in Poland before 13 December 1981 posed the gravest danger to the country. Forces of anarchy and destruction hostile to socialism were aiming against the principles of the socio-political system and basic institutions of the Polish People's Republic, undermined her alliances, paralysed the national economy and public life. Appeals for social calm, for prudence and civil responsibility, as well as firm recommendations contained in Sejm resolutions went unheeded. Very real had become the threat of civil war, internationalization of the Polish crisis and erosion of the sovereignty of our state.

In the situation, salvation of the state had become impossible without recourse to extraordinary means, which both the Sejm and the government had wanted to avoid. Following a rapid growth of the threat to the state security, the Council of State had to bring in martial law. The army has taken co-responsibility for the fate of the country, thereby heading off a national catastrophe. The Sejm states that proclamation of martial law, being a lesser evil than bloody confrontation, has prevented it and created the responsibility of restoring normal conditions for the functioning of the state and its organs, the economy and social life.

The Sejm stands on the ground that martial law should not last longer than it is indispensable and the inherent restrictions of civil liberties and normal conditions of life should be gradually alleviated. At the same time, the Sejm states with full force that the great task of socialist ~~renewal must and will be~~ continued.

The Sejm reaffirms in its entirety the will to implement the programme of reforms expressed in its earlier resolutions and the declaration of the chairman of the Martial Council of Natinal Redemption of 13 December 1981.

The most important goal today facing all authority organs and the entire society is effective protection of state and national existence, safeguarding of the country's defense capability, strengthening of public order, revival of national economy and, above all, creation of conditions permitting satisfaction of the vital needs of thepopulation.

The Sejm expresses full solidarity with the declarations of the chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption and chairman of the Council of Ministers to the effect that there is no return to the mistaken methods and practices from before August 1980, and that none of the Polish problems can in the long term be solved by force. These problems can only be solved through national accord, which has remained our inalterable objective. At the same time, the Sejm underlines that it is not the intention of the authorities to practice a policy of revenge, and any attempts in this domain are inadmissible.

The Sejm emphasizes the role played by the church in the life of the Polish nation and its meaningful influence on the state of social consciousness. Therefore, the Sejm expresses the hope that the church, as well as other denominational unions will continue to act in the spirit of national accord.

The Sejm fully shares the standpoint expressed by the chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption and chairman of the Council of Ministers to the effect that a well-governed, strong and equitable state is the guarantee of propitious development of Poland. Of fundamental importance is the strengthening of the state and its structures, as well as consolidation and further development of socialist democracy in political and state life. Necessary is the creation of institutional safeguards protecting the nation against distortions in the functioning of the state. Both bureaucratic autocratism, as well as anarchy promoting the operation of anti-state forces should be stamped out. The principles of social justice in shaping the incomes of the population, housing conditions and opportunities in life must be consistently implemented.

Of immense importance for overcoming the economic crisis is implementation of the economic reform which entails change of the price system, of wages, as well as the strengthening of the zloty. In spite of the necessary restrictions resulting from martial law and the current situation concerning energy, fuel and raw material resources, continuation of the economic reform constitutes the key to rational management, as well as the growth of labour productivity and higher output. For the first time in many months production effects of the last few weeks justify the hope that further decline of the national income can be halted. In the task of lifting the Polish economy from decline, special mention is due to the favorable results in the mining industry for which recognition and gratitude is due to the miners for their toil.

The bills connected with introduction of the economic reform, now being considered by the Sejm, together with the enacted laws on state enterprises and crew self-government in state enterprises map out the legal and socio-political shape of the reform.

In conditions when an economic boycott against Poland is being organised by a part of the Western states, the Sejm pledges the government to prepare and present a programme of increasing the country's self-reliance, especially as regards food, as well as concerning necessary structural transformation in the national economy.

The Sejm trusts that the Polish working class -- the leading force of the nation -- will fulfill its due historic national and social tasks. As soon as it will be possible, resumption of independent and self-governed activity of the trade unions should take place on the basis of social agreements of 1980, the statutes and programmes agreeing with the Polish Constitution and the law on trade unions now under preparation.

The Sejm jointly with the government will act towards creating conditions making it possible to boost production and productivity of the entire Polish agriculture. This entails strengthening of legal guarantees for the durability of the private peasant farm. More initiatives will be taken and support extended for promotion of food production. The Sejm voices the conviction that the Polish countryside which repeatedly in the past gave expression of its patriotism will reaffirm it also in the present difficult times.

The Polish intelligentsia, the scientists, men of letters and teachers, the artists have always been in the front-line of struggle for national and social ideals. The Sejm expects that also at present they will dedicate all their abilities and knowledge to the motherland in need, thereby confirming their patriotism and civic maturity.

The Sejm approaches the needs of the youngest and younger generations of the Poles with great attention. The Sejm voices the confidence that the Polish youth will stay in the forefront of the builders of People's Poland, contributing by their learning, work and civic attitude to the flourishing growth of their motherland, and thereby to building their own future.

The Sejm is particularly concerned over the destinies of the elderly people, ailing people and those who are in need of care. Alleviating their difficult situation should rank among the important social tasks. As the possibilities available to the state grow, first of all the lowest old-age and disability pensions should be increased and the welfare assistance to the most needy ones should be expanded.

The Sejm attaches crucial importance to consolidating the rule of law in Poland. The legislative premises will be ensured to define the culpability for plunging the country into the polit'cal-economic crisis and to ensure full observance of the Constitution and law by all the public functionaries. The Sejm will accelerate legislative work on the People's Councils' law, the new electoral law and other draft laws submitted to the Sejm and referring to various forms of self-management.

The Sejm reaffirms the durability of the constitutional principles of Polish foreign policy whose aim is strengthening world peace, comprehensive cooperation and mutual understanding and rapprochement among nations.

The foundation of this policy is the alliance and friendship with the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics and the states-members of the Warsaw Treaty. This is the guarantee of Poland's security, her sovereign and independent existence, her strength and prosperous development. The historical significance of this friendship is being borne out anew today when our country has found itself in grave need. The Polish nation receives with satisfaction the latest declaration of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as successive evidence of the brotherly support.

Poland desires to continue strengthening and developing her friendly relations with the states having different systems on the basis of the principles set out in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Declaration, expecting the same from her partners.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic expresses concern over the ventures made by the Government of the United States of North America which hit out at the traditional friendship between our nations. The economic restrictions, political blackmail and the flagrant attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, constitute infringement of the principles of international coexistence contained, inter alia, in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, jeopardize European security and peace, make it more difficult for the Polish nation to overcome the grave internal crisis and its external consequences. The Sejm lends full approval to the measures taken by the government with the aim of counteracting the ventures which poison the international atmosphere and hit out directly in the sovereign rights of the Polish nation.

The Sejm also appeals to the millions of Poles scattered all over the world. Wherever you are and whatever ideals you profess, rush your assistance to the motherland at this difficult time and show understanding for the issues of this country, use every strength to defend the purity of the name of Poland.

At this hour of ordeal for the Polish nation, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic calls upon all the political and social forces and all the citizens to manifest broad support for the idea of national agreement. It is only agreement that can become the foundation of a lasting political solution on which the emergence from the crisis depends.

Ratification of Martial Law

LD260954 Warsaw PAP in English 0905 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- The Polish parliament tonight passed a law on special legal regulations for the duration of martial law. It ratifies the four decrees issued by the Council of State last December 12 which specified the regulations binding under martial law.

Under Polish Constitution, the imposition of martial law is the exclusive prerogative of Council of State and does not require subsequent ratification. On the other hand, the aforementioned decrees regulate a number of concrete matters connected with martial law and pertaining both to the functioning of the authorities and to private persons.

In the process the Sejm introduced an essential change to the decrees by making it possible to appeal administrative decisions concerning individual citizens based on martial law regulations.

Referring to remarks submitted by M.P.s during debates in Sejm committees, Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec, who introduced the bill to the house, said that the President of the Council of State made a binding recommendation to the prosecuting bodies not to request the harshest penalties under martial law including the death penalty (that exemption will not of course apply to common crimes for which such a sentence can be passed under the criminal code in other circumstances).

Surowiec asserted that the regulations passed by the Council of State in connection with the introduction of martial law in Poland do not infringe upon the international covenants of human rights ratified by Poland. One article of the covenants entitles the signatories to suspend the assumed obligations regarding human rights if the state finds itself in exceptional danger, provided this is officially announced and the adopted moves do not result in discrimination on account of race, the colour of the skin, sex, language, religion or social background. The deputy said this has not taken place in Poland.

The decrees ratified today will stay in force pending the adoption of another law -- one on martial law. This will be a law regulating the entirety of the fundamental martial law regulations and it will be similar in nature to state of emergency legislation that some nations have. As such, it will be a piece of legislation of a durable character which will be ready to be employed whenever the need to proclaim the state of war or martial law should arise.

REPORTAGE OF 26 JANUARY SEJM SESSION EVENTS

Sejm Session Resumes

LD261004 Warsaw PAP in English 0920 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP) -- The Polish Sejm (parliament) resumed its meeting today after 9 a.m. The meeting is attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski. The debates were opened by deputy speaker Halina Skibniewska.

The Sejm proceeded to the next item in the agenda, i.e. examining the report by the Committee for Education and Upbringing and Committee for Legislation on the government's draft law on the teacher's charter.

Sejm Session Ends

LD261454 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] The Sejm has concluded its deliberations. Shortly after 0900 on the second day of deliberations it began a discussion on the government draft law known as the teachers' charter. A vote was taken on the draft teachers' charter which was passed unanimously. The Sejm adopted a resolution in which it approved deferment of the implementation of the structural reform of the system of national education and it instructed the Council of Ministers to systematically update the programmatic and organizational principles of the work of schools and educational and training establishments, to work out a long-range program of development of national education, to present it for broad social consultation and to submit it to the Sejm for approval.

As the next point on the agenda Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, presented to the house proposals on changes in the composition of the government.

Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed that Stanislaw Bejger be recalled as head of the Ministry of Maritime Economy in connection with the fact that the post of first secretary of the party committee in Gdansk Voivodship has been entrusted to him, and that Jerzy Nawrocki be recalled from the post of minister of science, higher education and technology in view of his resignation. The premier proposed that Jerzy Korzonek be appointed head of the Ministry of Maritime Economy and Prof Benon Miskiewicz be appointed minister of science, higher education and technology. He presented profiles of the two candidates. The Sejm voted for changes in the composition of the government in accordance with the premier's proposal.

After the appointment of the two new ministers and a report by the Sejm speaker on the proposal by the Sejm Presidium to set up in our parliament a socioecononomic consultative body of an advisory character, the house ended its deliberations at 1430 hours.

HAIG SAYS U.S. ANALYZING JARUZELSKI SEJM SPEECH

LD252136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] REUTER reports that Alexander Haig, U.S. secretary of state, when he arrived in Geneva to take part in talks with Andrey Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, said that the United States is analyzing in depth the speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski. Haig said that it is too early for any American comment.

An official stance by the United States is expected after a detailed study of the contents of the speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski by representatives of the U.S. administration.

PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES DISCUSS PRE-SEJM ISSUES

LD252100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Before the Sejm session, the parliamentary parties had a meeting. At the meeting of the parliamentary party of the PZPR, Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak submitted issues connected with the state of the economy and the implementation of the economic reform, and in this context, the main problems which ought to be solved in the current quarter.

The foreign reactions to the introduction of martial law in Poland were characterized by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. The problems of the draft teachers' charter were discussed by Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Sejm Commission of Education and Upbringing.

Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski reported on the proposals for changes in the composition of the government, which will be submitted to the Sejm.

The debates were chaired by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

Problems concerning the changes in the agricultural legislation and the price reform in agriculture constituted the main theme of the session of the ZSL parliamentary party.

The debates, which were attended by the chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, Roman Malinowski, and Sejm speaker Stanislaw Gucwa, were chaired by Deputy Boleslaw Struzek.

The main intention of the draft laws concerning agriculture is expressed by the foundation, contained in the draft amendments to the civil code, that the Polish People's Republic guarantees absolute protection to private farms which constitute a permanent element of the socioeconomic order.

The ZSL parliamentary party came out with an initiative to amend that part of the Constitution which defines the status and position of private farms. Subsequently, the deputies acquainted themselves with proposals concerning the changes in prices of means of agriculture production and the prices of agricultural produce.

Under the chairmanship of Deputy Jan Fajecki, the SD parliamentary party held debates. The session was attended by the chairman of the SD Central Committee, Edward Kowalczyk. The deputies acquainted themselves with the external and internal circumstances of the introduction of martial law and the legal aspects of this law. Problems were discussed concerning the draft bill on the special legislation during the martial law period, and the stance presented in the resolutions of the SD Central Committee Presidium was reported on. Ascertaining the need to wage a concerted campaign against the crisis and to maintain legal order, to carry out a penetrating analysis of the past and mark out a realistic path for the country's development, the SD parliamentary party favored supporting fully the actions of the Military Council of National Salvation and of its chairman, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In the second part of the meeting, the deputies made many observations about the teachers' charter.

URBAN ARTICLE ON FUTURE OF TRADE UNIONS

LD251208 Warsaw PAP in English 1127 GMT 25 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- In an article headlined "The Need to Choose" Jerzy Urban stated in the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily that "the future forms of the trade union movement are not known yet. Some things, however, seem to be certain: The trade unions will exist, they will become organizations corresponding to their name -- thus they will stop playing the role of (?political organization) -- and will remain a self-governed and independent organism. This means they will [word indistinct] with state offices and all kinds of employers.

"The road is being cleared by a conception envisaging that institutions embodying state authority (a ministry, a voivodship office, a court, a prosecutor's office, etc.) will not permit the same trade unions as enterprises. But a representation of the interests of employees in these institutions is envisaged."

In another motif of the article Jerzy Urban wrote that "much of what is now happening means inducing people to make a choice. Yet Western press, and especially the Radio Free Europe, are throwing quite different events into the same basket: declarations by individuals that they will respect the binding law, the reaffirmation of the oath of office, questions concerning political choice -- justified in the case of party activists, questions put to a state office employee whether he or she wants to represent the state or the trade union, the personnel reviews aimed at selecting editorial boards in accordance with the line of a given newspaper or magazine, etc."

"Sometimes these operations are painful," Jerzy Urban went on. "for at times a free choice of options is costly. It demands giving up a job and the heretofore career. Yet people should pay a good but moderate price for their beliefs. Besides, some costs are indispensable in the name of such social values as unambiguity of roles, efficiency of apparatus, ideological unity of editorial boards, future independence of the trade union movement, etc."

Simultaneously, Jerzy Urban warned against negative effects of possible deformations of this operaton, stating that "if people who were previously active in Solidarnosc become to feel that they start to belong to a second category of citizens and their chances of promotion become diminished it would bear disastrous and far-ranging effects on the public life."

COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL REDEMPTION ESTABLISHED

LD251442 Warsaw PAP in Engish 1404 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- Civic Committees of National Redemption (OKON) are being set up all over the country, in cities and different industrial plants, communes and villages. They are composed of people who have much influence in their milieus, who represent all the social forces which want to actively contribute to getting Poland out of the grave crisis and making their homeland develop. The initiators for setting up those committees are primarily Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) members followed by United Peasants Party (UPP) and Democratic Party (DP) members as well as women's and youth organizations, people with no party affiliation and also Catholic activists like, for example, in the Chelm Voivodship. Programmes and first actions taken by the committees prove that they try to set up foundations for patriotic accord of Poles. The committees are also taking up many everyday actions closely cooperating with the Martial Council of National Redemption. They are carrying out political work, solving tense questions.

In Plock the Civic Committee of National Redemption which affiliates representatives of the PUWP, UPP and DP, youth and women's organizations and non-party members, focuses on the consolidation of the society in the difficult period of natural calamity in the voivodship around crucial issues of cooperation with the authorities in restoring normal manner of life.

In the Bialystok area nearly 40 committees are already acting in 28 localities. In Bialystok alone 10 committees have already been established. In the neighbouring Suwalki Voivodship 21 such committees including 13 in industrial plants have been set up.

PRICE REFORM INFORMATION OFFICE SET UP

LD251510 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1430 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] In Warsaw and in the metropolitan area, price reform information offices have began to operate. They have been set up at 53 district, town and town-parish offices with the aim of collecting opinions and remarks concerning the system of price changes and compensation. Similar establishments were set up earlier in many work places.

Also in Lodz, consultation offices in the matters of prices and compensation have been in operation for a few days. They are open at the Department of Employment and Social Affairs of the town office and at Gorna and Baluty District offices in Lodz from 0800 to 1600.

KATOWICE VOIVODSHIP PZPR COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

Three Secretaries Resign

LD231540 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] A plenary session of the Katowice PZPR Voivodship Committee has begun. A report on the sociopolitical situation in Katowice Voivodship and on the activities of the party under the conditions of martial law was delivered by Central Committee Politburo member and First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Committee Zbigniew Messner.

Three voivodship committee secretaries have submitted their resignations. The committee executive thanked them for their work and appointed the following to be secretaries: (Witold Nawrocki), (Bogumil Ferensztajn), Col (Piotr Gepka) and (Jan Rachwalik). The executive also appointed the Katowice voivoda, Lt Gen Norman Paszkowski, to its ranks. The plenum is being attended by Politburo member Jerzy Romanik.

Messner on Purge

LD231836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Katowice correspondent Jerzy Wieczorek Report]

[Excerpts] A plenary session of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee was held today. Taking the floor, Zbigniew Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the voivodship committee, stated that the situation demands open changes in the style of action. Zbigniew Messner stressed that the party's ranks should be purged of unprincipled, hesitant and casual members. This must not, however, be done mechanically and long-serving party members -- comrades who belonged to Solidarity, believing it was a trade union -- must not be crossed off the list.

During the deliberations the assembly was informed about the normalization of [word indistinct] work in the collieries, which are extracting more than 620,000 tons of coal per day. This is possible thanks to an improvement in labor discipline and organization.

The first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee also drew attention in his report to the recent events in the Wujek coal mine. The victims who fell on the side of the disoriented workers, he stated, are the responsibility of the leaders and organizers of the strike. Young and inexperienced people were [word indistinct] drawn into a conflict in which they were not defending their own interests or views.

Jerzy Romanik, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, also took part in today's plenum.

Messner Interview

LD232136 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Unidentified correspondent's interview with Zbigniew Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee; date and place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] How does someone who is a professor of economics and at the same time has been first secretary of the voivodship party committee for the past 2 weeks assess the situation?

[Answer] It is hard to say that I have a different assessment because I have become first secretary. As is known, I was concerned with economic programs [word indistinct] considerably earlier, on the People's Council, not to speak of the fact that I am still [words indistinct] rector of the Katowice Economics Academy.

But where does the problem lie? Everyone knows that this is the objective (?truth): That there will be industrial objects [as heard] in our region and that all the problems that occur in this region [word indistinct] have an effect on the entire national economy. This is not just a question of production; that is, that by producing more coal, for instance, we make (?solutions easier) or by producing [word indistinct] more steel and so on. The moods of this voivodship also have a very considerable influence on the [word indistinct] and political moods. So, taking into consideration the general situation of the voivodship, the difficult (?living) situation, we must solve these problems in the voivodship, we are also living them in the country.

[Question] Here is perhaps a rather personal question: How do you view the post of first secretary; what thoughts accompany this [word indistinct]?

[Answer] I must say that I never -- and I have 32 years of experience as a university teacher behind me...I never thought of a political career and, in any case, of filling the post of first secretary. That was not the height of my life's dreams. But at this moment it is hard to discuss this topic. I think we are living in times when a party member cannot discuss his personal affairs. They must take second place and wider, more general matters that concern our country, the party and socialism are more important. So if I speak about these emotions, I have only one emotion -- I realize the weight of the responsibility, I realize that I have undertaken, that I have been entrusted with this post at a very difficult period and I will do everything so that all my abilities [word indistinct] to carry out the tasks I am facing. Of course, I must count on this case on the help of the entire party organization in the voivodship; without that help and without [word indistinct] nothing can be solved.

MADEJ ON CEMA DISCUSSIONS, CONTACTS WITH WEST

LD222202 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2117 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] After the session of the CEMA Executive Committee Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej granted an extensive interview to PAP in which we read, in part:

The attitude of the socialist countries toward Poland and toward our difficulties and also the unprecedented sanctions by certain Western countries was powerfully reflected during the session in which we point out that the use of economic sanctions to force through one's own policies, as the United States has done, is unprecedented in international relations. I would like to recall, said Deputy Premier Madej, that in the history of our country threats from outside have always ended miserably. Most probably the Western world will establish soon that the absence of Poland in the international division of labor is being felt. Despite problems, we are still open to economic contacts with the capitalist countries.

FORTHCOMING U.S. TV PROGRAM ON POLAND DENOUNCED

LD231756 Warsaw PAP in English 1711 GMT 23 Jan 82

["Washington's Anti-Polish Propaganda" -- PAP headline; by PAP correspondent Stanislaw Glabinski]

[Text] Washington, 23 Jan (PAP) -- The Washington administration is preparing an explicitly anti-Polish propaganda campaign, the beginning of which will be signalled by a lengthy TV programme entitled, ironically enough, "Let Poland Be Poland", despite the fact that it will have nothing in common with Poland at all.

The idea behind the programme is to rally the whole world public opinion against the Polish authorities, the process of renewal and stabilisation, and to criticize the hard-earned normalization of the Polish nation's life.

It is obvious that the programme, which is to be broadcast worldwide and is being given enormous publicity, is meant as an element of Washington's policy directed against the interests of all socialist nations, and as argument to justify the cold-war policy of Ronald Reagan.

The "Polish" programme is being prepared by a federal institution called International Communications Agency (USICA), which is under the direct supervision of the President and whose task is to carry American propaganda abroad.

SUNDIC COMMENTARY ASSESSES CPSU-PCI DISPUTE

LD252046 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Milika Sundic Commentary]

[Text] What is noticeable in the dispute, or, to put it more accurately, in the conflict which occurred between the CPSU and the Italian Communist Party [PCI], numerically the strongest party in the West, because of completely different assessments of the Polish crisis, its reasons and possible consequences, is the absence of toleration and a comradely exchange of views allowing for the conduct of a constructive debate.

Let us recall that the PCI sharply denounced the introduction of martial law in Poland and the part played by the USSR in it all. The debate held at the Central Committee plenum and the documents which have been adopted reaffirmed a third way to socialism, a way not modeled on the Soviet example and a way not followed by the social-democratic parties in the West. The PCI Central Committee also adopted a stance which says that the stage of socialism ushered in by the October Revolution has exhausted the forces which pulled it forward.

As was to be expected PRAVDA, the CPSU Central Committee paper, assessed the stands of the PCI as a serious blow against the struggle of the people for peace and as an attempt to cast aspersions on the great historic and victorious path of the Soviet people and the CPSU. It assessed the path opted for by the PCI Central Committee as one which is moving away from Marxist-Leninist teaching. The PCI leadership is also accused of openly attacking world socialism, acknowledged by progressive social thought as the highest achievement of world progress. With this sort of counter-accusation, which so far has not been uttered in the many polemics between the CPSU and the PCI, the relations between the two parties are entering a phase of confrontation in which neither side is ready to give ground and which inevitably will reflect on relations and cooperation within the international workers movement. Even the severance of relations between the CPSU and the PCI is possible, especially since neither party, that is to say neither the CPSU nor the PCI, is showing a readiness to change its views. On the contrary, Enrico Berlinguer said at a big rally in Milan yesterday that it was unacceptable for the PCI that manifestations of dissatisfaction in Poland are being met with repressive measures instead of a solution being sought through political dialogue.

Berlinguer stressed the enormous importance of the October Revolution but said that for the PCI to tie itself to the USSR would be tantamount to suicide. The PCI leader also spelled out the stance of his party toward Lenin and Leninism. According to him, and what he said will certainly not go unanswered, Leninism was invented by Stalin while Lenin, like Marx, was a genuine anti-dogmatic thinker. Giancarlo Pajetta, a member of the PCI Directorate, was the first to comment on the PRAVDA article, assessing it as an attack with aggressive undertones to which the PCI will reply.

The PCI's negative position toward the events in Poland surprised no one and this includes, we believe, the CPSU, too. As far as the vehemence of this stand is concerned it can be explained by the specific nature of the position of the PCI and by the fear that today or tomorrow Italy could find itself in the same situation as Poland though without any prospects of preserving its democratic achievements. As an opposition party exposed to all kinds of pressures, the PCI had to be louder in assessing the Polish crisis; that is to say it had to say something which in a different situation it would not have said. The fact that PRAVDA did not heed any of these reasons makes one infer that the CPSU was either in a position to overlook the criticism of the Italian communists or to side-step the serious accusations which place the PCI alongside those forces in the West which use the crisis in Poland and the discord in the international workers' movement for different ends altogether -- manly anti-communist ones. It is a great pity that the dispute between the CPSU and the PCI has provided the West with a lot of arguments.

U.S.-SOVIET TIES VIEWED ON EVE OF GENEVA TALKS

Hardened U.S. Stance

LD231708 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] Yesterday's main news, which is also at the center of the world public's attention today on account of everything which it implies and which it can still result in, is the White House decision because of the situation in Poland to withdraw its earlier decision on strategic nuclear arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. Our commentator Milika Sundic asks himself what will happen to the meeting between Gromyko and Haig.

[Begin recording] After the latest change in the American attitude toward the forthcoming meeting between Gromyko and Haig in Geneva, the armed world public could hardly be surprised if Gromyko refuses to meet his American counterpart. It is not easy to believe in this possibility, but when it comes to relations between the superpowers and their behavior everything is possible. The White House, judging by the latest information from Washington, has announced that the earlier decision to convene negotiations with the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear arms will be withdrawn. This, let us recall, was to have been the main subject of the talks between Gromyko and Haig. Instead, Haig has been assigned to talk with Gromyko about the situation in Poland, that is, about the Soviet pressure on the Polish authorities to reorientate social and political development in Poland through martial law and the arrest of Solidarity members. In other words, Gromyko should find himself almost in the dock.

As regards the strategic arms negotiations, not much is expected from the Gromyko-Haig meeting, except that this problem will only just be broached. However, it is properly believed that the two ministers will pay considerable attention to Soviet-American relations, which are deteriorating daily to East-West relations and in this context to the situation in Poland. In all likelihood Moscow, too, does not believe that Haig could bypass the Polish crisis. However if the United States is unwilling to talk about anything else except Soviet behavior toward Poland and meanwhile, if the Western countries raise the Polish question at the CSCE talks in Madrid, it could really happen that relations between the two superpowers worsen even more and that the CSCE talks fail completely.

Practically nothing has been achieved in Madrid even without raising the Polish crisis because by their behavior the blocs have prevented any significant progress. It is difficult to say anything more definite about what has induced the United States to virtually suspend the negotiations on strategic arms just prior to the Gromyko-Haig talks except that this involves an additional bloc-motivated pressure on the Soviet Union and its allies. Perhaps Washington's assessment is that the measures so far have yielded satisfactory results and that even more could be achieved with new pressures.

The U.S. economic sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union have certainly affected both countries, and most particularly the Polish people. However, it is illusory to believe that the United States has gained anything by it, much less that the additional measures will force the other side to bow to American pressure. On the contrary, failure in Geneva, where Gromyko and Haig are to meet in 3 days, even if not too much is expected from that meeting, would lead to a further exacerbation of Soviet-American relations and would increase even more the threat to world peace. Therefore, it seems to us that the change in the American attitude to the Geneva meeting between Gromyko and Haig does not presage anything good.

Danger to CSCE

LD232108 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] The fresh blow dealt to the CSCE process is the subject of the topical foreign political commentary by Filip Svetic.

[Begin recording] Just a few days before the Gromyko-Haig meeting in Geneva the world has again been unpleasantly surprised by the range of moves by which the relations between the superpowers are further exacerbated, and above all by the White House action to withdraw its earlier decision on stretegic negotiations with the Soviet Union and the sharpness of the memorandum just published by the U.S. Congress CSCE Commission. This expresses doubts about the possibility of a normal continuation of the Madrid meeting as long as the crisis connected with Poland lasts. This is explained by the standpoint that the blow to Solidarity and to the human rights movement in Poland has exacerbated relations between East and West to the extent that now, it says literally, there is no possibility of undertaking fresh agreements between East and West.

But what attracts particular attention, or rather provides confirmation of the bloc approach to the process of European detente, is the assertion that the compromise final document agreed upon at the end of last year by eight neutral and nonaligned countries, including Yugoslavia, as the only acceptable basis for the continuation and successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting, is totally inadequate and that -- it is further asserted -- it can certainly no longer be regarded as a serious basis for the conclusion of the meeting.

Of course not much political foresight is needed in draw the conclusion that such a standpoint truly represents a fresh blow to the entire CSCE process and a negation of the great efforts by the group of neutral and nonaligned countries which persistently offer solutions on a nonbloc basis, including earlier initiatives about continuing the Madrid meeting at ministerial level in order to overcome the stagnation as successfully as possible and to arrive at a final document acceptable to all. Such a document has already been largely agreed upon, except for the problem of human rights and disarmament initiatives, a sphere in which the two blocs are practically irreconcilably at variance. Instead, the West has come up with the idea of a ministerial meeting which would also officially raise the problems of Poland at the conference and which the other side firmly rejects.

Thus there is no doubt whatsoever that this fresh East-West collision under the sign of bloc confrontation will exacerbate the situation even more at the Madrid meeting, whose final successful outcome is called into question more than ever. In broader terms, this is also true of the process and continuity of the CSCE, whose foundations were laid in 1975 in Helsinki. The concern of the European public, and even of the broader world public, at such a course of events, is, therefore, all the greater and more understandable. [end recording]

Soviet Press Conference

LD252116 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TANJUG) -- Soviet functionaries held a press conference here today on the occasion of the publication of a book entitled, "Whence Comes the Threat to Peace". In the book, the Soviet Union accuses the United States of leading the arms race and making every effort to win back its allegedly lost military supremacy.

The book, published by the Soviet Defence Ministry, represents a reply to the brochure "The Soviet Military Might" published by the Pentagon last October. At the time, Washington accused Moscow of upsetting the military balance by pressing the arms race.

Although the book of the Soviet Defence Ministry fans the flame of the two super-powers' propaganda [word indistinct], Soviet functionaries reaffirmed at today's press conference the Soviet Union's readiness to discuss with the United States an effective reduction in nuclear stockpiles.

In their answers, however, Soviet functionaries did not clarify whether Moscow expects the forthcoming Gromyko-Haig meeting in Geneva to result in an agreement on resuming negotiations on limiting intercontinental nuclear weapons and in progress in the two countries' current dialogue on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Although the Soviet deputy chief of staff, General of the Army, Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov stated today that an agreement on limiting armaments would be in the interest of both sides, observers here note that recriminations between Moscow and Washington can in no way contribute towards eliminating the obstacles in the way to understanding.

RESPONSE BY NONALIGNED TO BLOC TENSIONS

Kicovic Commentary

AU231615 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] The activities of nonaligned countries are in full swing and they are developing through the most widely varied forms ranging from many mutual meetings and exchanges of views to other diverse initiatives. Yugoslavia, which has always stayed in the mainstream of the Nonaligned Movement, plays a very important role in all that. The Nonaligned Movement and policy are confirming their vital necessity as an irreplaceable factor of peace and democratization of all international relations. Our commentator Bozidar Kicovic says something more about this:

An increasingly frequent conclusion is that in the recent period, the international situation has once again reached the crossroads from which it is not far to the road leading to a total threat to peace and security. The interbloc rivalries and confrontations have assumed proportions which are not only preventing solutions to the existing hotbeds of war and crisis, but are also exacerbating these hotbeds and threatening to cause new conflicts which would further dangerously shake the already insufficiently stable foundations of peace. Even the greatest optimists do not venture to deny that this is true. There it is. This is what reality and life are. But there is also no room for despair, because behind this, at the first glance, obvious [brief passage of about 20 seconds unheard due to presumed power failure at source] and that, the more dangerous the times are, efforts are intensifying to find ways to a better international climate.

The latest intensified activities of the nonaligned countries, on the basis of the original principles of their orientation, provide one proof of that. This fact gives hope, encourages, opens further prospects and naturally requires the highest degree of positive activity. Someone said: when the superpowers are making agreements, then it is worse for the small and weaker countries, but when the superpowers are not agreeing, then it is even worse for the small and weaker countries. It seems that this statement concisely expresses one of the contradictions of the contemporary world. The small, medium-sized, developing and undeveloped countries want to see good relations between the big powers because greater tension and crisis between the superpowers hurts them more both politically and economically. This is true for the simple reason that the world is indivisible even though the blocs are constantly trying to preserve its division and even to divide the world anew and order it according to their own plans, which are contrary to the aspirations of an enormous majority of mankind and thereby also historically untenable.

If this were not true, then the Nonaligned Movement would not have been created and would not be constantly expanding and strengthening. The movement is a negation of bloc divisions and a promoter of the struggle to ensure that, in an indivisible world, an indivisible process of relaxation of tension also develops, although there are some who would like to do the impossible and divide both the relaxation of tension and peace. For this reason, the real opponent of the small, weaker and developing countries and of peace in general is the policy which pits different parts of the world against each other; that is, the bloc policy in all its aspects regardless of by whom, where and how it may be carried out.

After all, since the founding of their movement, the nonaligned countries have advocated new international relations and, despite the constant attempts to reorient them toward the blocs, they do not oppose this or that country but judge each of them according to its specific actions under currently existing circumstances. Therefore, also in this obviously deteriorated international situation today, the nonaligned countries will not and cannot orient themselves either as anti-American or anti-Soviet, or as pro-American or pro-Soviet. The nonaligned countries want good relations and ties with all, new political and economic relations and the relations of freedom, equality, independence and progress; that is, briefly, a new and better world of peace and security for all.

Vuckovic Commentary

AU242051 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] We devote the next few minutes to the growing crisis in American-Soviet relations. It is our desire to reiterate what the nonaligned countries grasped long ago: that a strengthening of their mutual cooperation and solidarity is the best barrier to bloc confrontations and this is being constantly confirmed in daily practice. Cedomir Vuckovic speaks about this:

The interbloc strain in relations has assumed proportions that have never been recorded in the past, not even during the well-known period of the cold war in the fifties. It has been demonstrated that a cause for disputes can always be found. At one time this cause is Afghanistan, at another Kampuchea, then again Iran and the Middle East, and now it is martial law in Poland. Disputes arise when disagreements could be avoided or removed with good will. At the UN Security Council, the right to veto has become increasingly more frequent. The veto is an anachronism of both the past and present and reminds one of the postwar ideological confrontation which led to the creation of the two blocs. One time one side uses the veto to oppose the natural aspiration of the international community to regain the independence of Kampuchea or Afghanistan; another time the other side uses the veto because it opposes sanctions against Israel, which proclaimed foreign territory as its own.

In all these and other cases the blocs and superpowers try to defend something that cannot be defended, that is to reach for military power against the sovereignty of the independent and primarily the nonaligned countries. However, the present time is, nonetheless, different than the postwar period. Instead of a problem being removed without much noise at the UN Security Council, it is transferred to the General Assembly, where it is heard much more loudly and widely.

This means that the nonaligned and other nonbloc countries have other means to condemn what cannot be defended. For this reason the situation in Poland has prompted the western bloc to warn that it will request that Poland be put on the agenda in Madrid. As a result of a disagreement in the eastern military-political alliance, here we have another serious development jeopardizing the process of detente and the spirit of Helsinki.

It is obvious that relations between the two blocs have reached an impasse. However, the world outside the blocs and the military-political alliances which, fortunately, is more numerous, is not without hope. This also goes for world peace. The nonaligned countries are conducting activities aimed at preserving peace and developing international cooperation on an equal footing. While the blocs are bickering futilely, the nonaligned countries, preparing themselves for their seventh summit conference in Baghdad, are cooperating increasingly more successfully and intensively. It is obvious that no one and nothing can prevent them in this cooperation: not the attempts to destabilize them and the efforts to block their activity nor the persistent aspiration of the blocs to divide them according to an ideological basis and to direct them to their waters.

In these international circumstances the nonaligned countries convinced themselves that their mutual cooperation and solidarity are the most effective means of opposing outside attacks. At the end of last year and at the beginning of this year, the nonaligned countries initiated many imtiatives in this direction. Our country, for instance, played host to prominent guests and its statesman and diplomats visited a number of nonaligned countries. Petar Stambolic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, recently visited Iraq, which will host the seventh summit conference of the nonaligned countries. The mutual view is that a fruitful mutual cooperation between Iraq and Yugoslavia, as has been implemented for years, is the best contribution to a strengthening of mutual confidence, to the movement in general as well as to improving relations in the world.

It is on these foundations that the activity in favor of peace, toward which all nonaligned countries strive, is more successfully waged. A similar viewpoint was expressed during the visit of Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, to nonaligned Algeria and during the visit of Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, to Belgrade. Gen Ziaul Haq, president of the state of Pakistan, is still our guest. Gen Ziaul Haq did not miss the opportunity to pay tribute to Yugoslavia for its policy of developing cooperation with his and other nonaligned countries on the basis of equality and confidence.

Vrhovec, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs, is currently visiting nonaligned Angola to exchange views on strengthening mutual cooperation and on preparations for the forthcoming meetings of the nonaligned countries: the ministerial meeting on Palestine in Kuwait, the regular meeting of the Coordination Bureau in Havana and the seventh summit conference in Baghdad. All these activities, which serve to strengthen the mutual solidarity of the nonaligned countires, are being held on the principles of the Nonaligned Movement, primarily in a democratic atmosphere.

The bloc groups could learn lessons from the behavior of the nonaligned countries, primarily the lesson that closing themselves into their own hunting grounds and firing from ambushes that they set up only hurts themselves. Because the onaligned ovement is making efforts for the universal goods of the entire international community -- that is, peace, progress, international cooperation on an equal footing and democratic relations -- two-thirds of the UN member counties follow it. Do the bloc alliances really still not see this?

VISIT BY PAKISTAN'S PRESIDENT ZIAUL HAQ

Arrival Ceremony

LD221144 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG) -- Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, arrived today on an official visit to our country. At Belgrade's Airport the high-ranking guest was welcomed with all the high honors accorded to heads of state by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency. Also present were Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Bogoljub Nedelukovic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Branko Mamula, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly; and other Yugoslavs.

After the two national anthems were played, the high-ranking guest inspected the guard of honor and then greeted the heads of diplomatic missions from nonaligned countries accredited in Belgrade who were also present. The Pakistani president was accompanied by Lt Gen K.M. Arif, chief of staff of the chief martial law administrator; Agha Shahi, minister of foreign affairs; Vice Adm Mohammad Fazil Janjua, minister of agriculture; Elahi Bux Soomro, minister of industry; Lt Gen Said Qadir, minister for production division and the national logistic board; and others.

Report on Dinner Toasts

LD222334 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and Pakistan are investing joint efforts for a still greater affirmation of the basic principles of the policy of non-alignment. The two countries hold identical or similar views on topical international problems. They have come particularly close together since Pakistan joined the Non-aligned Movement.

The above are the main accents from the toasts of President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher and President of Pakistan Ziaul Haq at the formal dinner given here in Belgrade this evening in honour of the guest from pakistan.

Both statesmen expressed concern over the extremely complex international situation. "Numerous crises, created by foreign assaults on the independence of countries, bloc rivalries and various conflicts, are particularly disturbing," Kraigher said. Kraigher and Ziaul Haq urged respect for the independence of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and very strongly condemned Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East.

The intervention of foreign troops in Afghanistan has compelled 25 million [as received] Afghans to seek refuge in Pakistan, Ziaul Haq said. Pakistan will further give humanitarian aid to refugees, no matter how heavy this burden may be, he said.

Kraigher emphasized exceptional importance an end to the arms race and building conditions for passing to real disarmament had for universal detente.

"Not finding a solution to this [words indistinct] in many regions of the world," he said.

Kraigher came out in favor of the superpowers' discontinuing their danger-fraught rivalry, putting an end to the arms race and starting negotiations that lead, indeed, to disarmament.

The two statesmen also drew attention to the necessity for starting global negotiations as soon as possible on building a new international economic order.

Sergej Kraigher and Ziaul Haq stressed the irreplaceable character of the policy and the enormous role played by the Movement of Non-alignment in solving all international problems. They also agreed on the need for still further strengthening solidarity among and the action unity of non-aligned countries.

"I wish particularly to stress on this occasion also the need for putting an immediate stop to the Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict and finding a peaceful solution to the dispute, which will ensure good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and also contribute to international peace and security", the president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia said. Kraigher added that the non-aligned are facing the task at the next, seventh, summit in Baghdad, of confirming the continuity and ensuring further strengthening of the role of the movement.

As to bilateral relations between the two countries, stress was laid on the need for a further promotion of bilateral economic cooperation.

"In this way, we meet, too, one of the needs of the nonaligned and developing countries to step up the development of their potentials through self-reliance and through bilateral cooperation as close as possible", Kraigher said.

In their toasts, the guest and his host expressed their belief that Ziaul Haq's visit to Yugoslavia would considerably contribute to a further development of friendship and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Pakistan.

Communique Issued

LD251608 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 25 Jan 82

["Joint Communique on Ziaul Haq's visit to Yugoslavia" — TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG) -- The following joint communique was issued in Belgrade today at the end of President Ziaul Haq's visit to our country:

"Gen Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, made an official friendly visit to the SFRY 22-25 January 1982 at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency. The president of Pakistan and his entourage visited the Josip Broz Tito memorial complex and laid flowers on President Tito's grave. President Ziaul Haq also laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Mt Avala.

Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, carried out an exhaustive exchange of views on the promotion of bilateral relations, especially economic cooperation, between the SFRY and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as well as on the most important international issues which are of interest to both nonaligned countries.

The president of Pakistan received Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and had talks with him on the possibilities of further promoting bilateral cooperation. Stojan Matkaliev, member of the FEC and Branko Jovanivic, vice president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, held separate talks with Vice Adm Mohammad Fazil Janjua, minister of agriculture; Elahi Bux Soomro, minister of industry; and Lt Gen Said Qadir, minister for production division and the national logistic board, on specific issues of bilateral economic relations.

President Ziaul Haq visited the Serbian Socialist Republic Presidency and held talks with Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency. The president of Pakistan was presented with the gold plaque of the City of Belgrade by Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly. President Ziaul Haq visited the Belgrade Agricultural Combine [PKB] and the Industrial Machines and Tractors [IMT] Plant in Novi Belgrade. Here he was acquainted with the work and achievements of these work organizations, as well as with the possibilities of cooperation between PKB and IMT and Pakistani partners.

The following also took part in the talks between Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Bogoljub Nedelukovic, member of the FEC; Stojan Matkaliev, member of the FEC; Slobodan Martinovic, ambassador of the SFRY in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; Milivoje Maksic, counsellor of the president of the SFRY Presidency in foreign policy affairs; Milos Peluic, counsellor of the federal secretary for foreign affairs; and Dusan Gruber, head of administration for south and southeast Asia at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Taking part on the Pakistani side were: Vice Adm Mohammad Fazil Janjua, minister of agriculture; Elahi Bux Soomro, minister of industry; Lt Gen Said Qadir, minister for production division and the national logistic board; Lt Gen K.M. (Arif), chief of staff of the chief martial law administrator; Riaz Piracha, foreign secretary; Dr S.M. Koreshi, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in the SFRY; Maj Gen (Mujibur Rahman Khan), secretary, information and broadcasting chairman of the broadcasting and television corps; Dr M.A. (Bhatty), additional foreign secretary; and (Tariq Fatmi), official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that relations between the SFRY and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan are developing successfully. Pakistan's membership in the Nonaligned Movement has strengthened mutual understanding, encouraged the promotion of bilateral cooperation and expanded the possibilities of international cooperation. Emphasis was laid on the joint readiness to make continued efforts to strengthen mutual friendship and expand cooperation between the two nonaligned countries.

In the talks, particular attention was devoted to the continued promotion of economic relations, which both sides assessed as having real possibilities, particularly in the sphere of industrial cooperation and other higher forms of economic cooperation. The recent agreements on joint investments in the production of tractors and electrical equipment were emphasized as good examples of such cooperation. It was agreed that new efforts should be made through joint bodies for economic cooperation and direct contacts between economic organizations in the two countries in order to intensify and further expand economic cooperation.

Both sides noted that real possibilities exist for realizing cooperation in various industrial branches, shipping, mining, agriculture and other spheres. Emphasis was laid on the need to increase trade, as well as on the desire to take advantage of all opportunities to strengthen and expand relations in these spheres.

It was noted that although trade has recently experienced a certain revival, it still lags behind the real possibilities of the economy of the two countries and it was emphasized that continued efforts must be made to ensure a balanced expansion and increase to the extent possible.

The two sides agreed that cooperation in science and technology should be made more meaningful and successful and linked with specific economic cooperation projects.

The two sides gave a positive assessment of the results of the work of the mixed commission for economic, scientific-technical and educational-cultural cooperation, which adopted several significant decisions with a view to speeding up the development and strengthening relations in the economic sphere.

The two sides noted with satisfaction positive results in cooperation in education and culture and in the information area. They welcomed the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of information and a program of educational and cultural cooperation for 1982-83, which were signed during this visit.

In their discussion of the international situation the two sides expressed their serious concern at the continued sharpening of tension, deepening of the crisis of detente, strengthening of the dangerous arms race and the lack of resolution of existing crisis flashpoints and outbreak of new ones, all of which increases the danger to peace and security in the world. The causes of such a situation lie in the increasingly frequent use of force in international relations and foreign interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries. Such a (?situation) is also contributed to by the continued deterioration of relations and competition between the big powers and blocs, as well as the deepening abyss between the developed and developing countries and inequitable political and economic relations in the world.

The two sides devoted particular attention to the activities of the nonaligned in the current international situation. They judged that the policy of nonalignment has been affirmed as a strong and independent factor in international relations. They both assessed that existing international problems demand an even more active role by the nonaligned countries in the struggle for peace and security, the realization of universal detente, an end to the arms race, a start on global negotiations on development and equitable international cooperation and progress.

Particular emphasis was laid on the need to strengthen mutual cooperation, action unity and solidarity between the nonaligned countries on the bases of the original principles of the policy of nonalignment. Emphasis was laid on the need to make constant efforts in order to strengthen the role, cohesiveness and action capability of the nonaligned countries. The two sides emphasized the significance of the forthcoming seventh summit of nonaligned countries, which is due to be held in Baghdad in September 1982, and all members of the movement should contribute to its success.

The two sides expressed their deep concern at the lack of resolution of existing crisis flashpoints and the outbreak of new ones in various parts of the world. They confirmed their support for a just, lasting and total solution to the Middle East crisis, which can only be achieved by Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the people of Palestine, including the creation of their own independent state, and the equitable participation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the peace process. The two sides expressed sharp censure of Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy, including the latest attacks on Lebanon, as well as the decision to annex the Golan Heights, which is in contradiction to international law, unconstitutional and invalid.

As regards the (?crisis) in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the two sides emphasized the need for their political solution on the principles of the UN Charter and the policy of nonalignment, as expressed in the relevant resolutions and decisions of the UN General Assembly and the ministerial conference of nonaligned countries held in New Delhi. This requires the withdrawal of foreign troops, respect for the principles of noninterference, respect for the sovereignty, independence and nonaligned status of those countries, the right of refugees to a voluntary, secure and honorable return to their homes and the right of the peoples of those countries to decide on their own fate without interference from outside.

Expressing their deep concern at the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war, the two sides emphasized the need for an end to it as soon as possible and for a just solution by political means on the principles of the UN Charter and nonaligned policy, which would lead to a renewal of friendship and constructive cooperation between the two neighboring nonaligned countries.

In censuring sharply the racist regime of South Africa for its apartheid policy, the illegal occupation of Namibia and aggressive acts against neighboring countries, and offering full support to the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, the two sides pointed to the need to take strong measures to ensure the quickest possible implementation of the UN plan on granting independence to Namibia.

Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, acquainted each other with the development of the situation in the regions in which their countries are situated, Europe and Asia.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual respect, cordiality and friendship. [Words indistinct] The president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan invited the president of the SFRY Presidency to make an official visit to Pakistan. The invitation was accepted with pleasure and the date will be set later.

Haq Departure

LD251142 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG) -- Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, ended his visit to our country today and left Belgrade for Paris.

The president of Pakistan was seen off at Belgrade's Surcin Airport by his host Sergeu Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency. After the two national anthems had been played, the high-ranking guest and Sergeu Kraigher inspected the honor guard. President Ziaul Haq then exchanged greetings with Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, member of the FEC; Adm Branko Mamula, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly; and other Yugoslavs. The formal ceremony was also attended by heads of diplomatic missions of nonaligned countries accredited in Belgrade, as well as the ambassador of France.

PROTEST LODGED WITH CANADA OVER EMIGRE MEETING

LD251356 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG) -- Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, lodged a protest today with James G. Harris, Canadian ambassador in Belgrade, over the Canadian authorities' decision to allow a gathering of an anti-Yugoslav terrorist organization entitled "The Fourth Assembly of the Croatian National Council" ["Hrvatsko Narodno Vijece"]. The members of this organization are the direct perpetrators of a series of terrorist actions against Yugoslavia and its diplomatic and consular offices.

NEW ALBANIAN PREMIER'S ASSEMBLY SPEECH WEIGHED

LD252108 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Albanian Assembly session of ten days ago, at which the new premier was elected, was characterized by the continuity of the country's system both in terms of rule and policy.

The very absence of a slightest detail which would recall that Mehmet Shehu was for a long number of years active in that system in different properties and posts prompted the press in the world to note that "Albanians are already used to ranking party and state officials in their country mysteriously vanishing".

Speaking about Albania's internal policy at the Assembly session, new Premier Carcani said that it will move along the well- [word indistinct] lines with the agriculture continuing the basis of Albania's economy but special attention devoted also to strengthening the industry, especially the light industry.

Particularly emphasizing that "in the further construction of industrial facilities and the modernization of the existing" Albania will in the coming period rely on its own forces, the new Albanian premier announced "rigorous saving measures", "the reducing of spending and increasing of cost-effective economic activity", the need for "better-quality consumer goods", "shorter periods for construction projects", etc.

The above indicates that the Albanian economy encounters not small difficulties. Carcani, for his part, however, assessed that Albania has been recording "continual economic stability and continual growth of the people's prosperity so that the Albanian people as a whole leads a quiet and happy life".

Carcani called for the combating of "subjectivism, voluntarism, liberalism, bureaucracy and technocracy, outdated concepts and forms of work" alongside of the strengthening of the "organs of internal [word indistinct], state security, the people's police and border units". This gives a picture of a system which has for years been claiming to be "the best in the world". Speaking about Albania's foreign trade, Carcani, by announcing measures for "achieving a positive foreign-trade balance" implicitly said that Albania is not achieving successes in this field but repeated that Albania will, as so far, accept no assistance and no credits - "never and from nobody".

In the part of his statement on foreign policy, Carcani underlined the consistency of Albania's uncompromising relation towards the big powers whom he described as "sworn enemies of the freedom of people and world peace". Carcani specified as a condition for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Great Britain the returning of gold to Albania while he urged the strengthening of relations with Greece, Turkey and Italy.

Almost one-fourth of Carcani's report to the Assembly, which is actually the programme of the new Albanian Government, was devoted to relations with Yugoslavia. He repeated that Albania's policy towards Yugoslavia continues unchanged and it is well-known what this policy has been like over the past thirty years and more. Carcani affirmed the policy in two ways.

Claiming, on one hand, that Albania wants "friendship with the Yugoslav peoples", Carcani spoke on the other, about "greater-Serbian terror over Albanians" and "crimes" against them and said that Albania will "without hesitating" act in the direction of protecting the constitutional rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

Carcani is saying that Albania has not and will not interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, that it will respect equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, it derives from the text of his report and Albania's attitude that Albania in fact comes out against that integrity and sovereignty by appropriating the right to implement the Yugoslav Constitution in Yugoslavia.

Carcani's statement on non-interference, goodneighbor relations, respect for equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity can be received in Yugoslavia only with approval and applause. However, Yugoslavia has always and in relation to every country proceeds from how much the actual practice is in keeping with the public declarations. Discrepancy between words and deeds has been present in Albania's hitherto stand toward Yugoslavia since Albania has interfered in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and drastically so recently in connection with the events in Kosovo. This is why it is to be seen whether this time the nice words the Albanian premier said about non-interference will be reflected in corresponding practical steps and the elimination of obstacles standing in the way of the further development and improvement of relations between the two neighbours.

It is well known that Yugoslavia, pursuing the policy of good-neighbor relations and peace in the Balkans, wishes to develop mutually beneficial relations with Albania but relations which must truly be based on the principles of strict non-interference in internal affairs, equality and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

POLITIKA REVIEWS COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH EEC

AU22?857 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 82 p 2

[B. Mikic report]

[Text] No special arguments are needed to prove that any adaptation process is slow by its very nature. It seemed that there would be no early end to the long and it can be freely said, marathon negotiations between Yugoslavia and the European Economic Community [EEC] in connection with Greece's admission to the nine-country West European community. In these negotiations it was necessary to adapt the existing agreement between our country and the EEC to the new situation. Now the two sides have succeeded in reaching an agreement on adapting the agreement of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EEC which now includes Greece as its 10th member.

Abolished Blockade

Greece has been a member of the EEC since last January. It was during the period from then until now, that is a whole year, that the agreement between our country and the 10-member community was blocked at least as far as Yugoslavia's exports of quality "baby beef" [English term used] meat, especially to Greece, were concerned.

The final negotiations on the "Greece protocol," which has been initialed at the EEC headquarters, opened the possibilities for considerably facilitating Yugoslavia's exports to the markets of the 10-member European Community. What is especially important is the fact that the traditional Yugoslav food product, "baby beef," will now again appear on the Greek market. This has been made possible primarily by the approval of the additional concessions that did not exist in the original concept of the "protocol." By introducing autonomous unilateral measures, the European Community "allowed" Yugoslavia to export 2,900 tons of "baby beef" monthly, amounting to a total annual quota of about 35,000 tons. Last fall, the annual quota for Yugoslavia's meat exports was increased to 54,000 tons, and the monthly quota was determined at 4,200 tons. The possibility for making this quota "flexible" is the new element incorporated in the latest "Greece protocol" that has been signed: It will be possible to change the quota at the height of tourist season. This means that the deliveries will not be evenly distributed through the year. In the summer period, Yugoslavia's monthly exports of young beef may amount even up to 6,300 tons monthly, which means that it will be possible to increase the exports in summer months by exporting any unused quotas of the preceding months. This concession will be applicable in the June-October period.

Credits for Transport Infrastructure

The question of transit transport through Yugoslavia is another part of the protocol which also aroused significant interest in the negotiations between Yugoslavia and EEC, and remained uncertain until the last hour. Greece's admission to the community has created new dimensions in the mutual transport cooperation between our country and the 10-member European Community. Naturally, there were disagreements on this topic also, but they have been overcome in mutual talks. The result is the following: The European Investment Bank has granted Yugoslavia a credit of $200 million to improve its transport infrastructure.

The question of the list of goods whose free export was limited was also on the agenda of the negotiations. The export quotas for some of the 29 products on that list have been increased. What is involved is yet another adaptation: the adaptation of the agreement on coal and steel, and the agreement of textiles.

This puts an end to the past disagreements between the European Community and Yugoslavia and, as both sides have agreed, a new chapter has been opened in their mutual economic relations.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Serbian SAWP Comments

AU251715 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] The Coordination Committee for International Relations of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference discussed the tasks resulting from the platform on the activity of the League of Communists in Kosovo. It was said that the enemy does not rest. This can be seen by numerous, although apparently marginal, manifestations. The enemy's presence and activity can be seen through the writing of slogans, provocations of disorder, attacks on social and private property, attempts at terrorism and a lack of confidence and the like. Drago Tankosic reports:

The platform encourages all socialist forces to take specific and daily actions. The focus of this activity, as Sveta Tadic, president of the committee, said in the introductory speech, must be in assisting all republics and tne province of Vojvodina and involving all subjective forces in Kosovo much more than in the past to increase production and productivity of labor and to achieve a more economical use of resources.

It was stressed that nationalists continue to want to create the impression of total insecurity. They contribute to a worsening of relations among the people of the province. The pressure on the non-Albanian population is the framework of the entire strategy of irredentists.

For this reason the basic task is the struggle against all kinds of nationalism. This struggle must be bitter and must show no mercy. This is also a remedy for our immediate and distant future when the platform is implemented, it was said at the session.

We are witnessing new examples of individual cases of terrorism in certain communes which threaten to further deteriorate relations by introducing a feeling of insecurity for the non-Albanian population. In this connection, the effectiveness of the organs in detecting and punishing the perpetrators of various deeds aimed at destroying brotherhood and unity and at implementing the slogan of an ethnically pure Kosovo was widely discussed.

It is evident that it is necessary to intensify specific political activity which would more effectively prevent a possible escalation. This primarily refers to the prosecution organs, the prosecutor's office and the judiciary. It is indispensable, as a participant in the discussion said, to use legal sanctions to a greater extent and to punish more strictly those who try to destroy the brotherhood and unity achieved by the shedding of blood.

Tito-Mitrovica Situation 'Complex'

AU232038 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] The security situation in Tito-Mitrovica following the 15 January disturbances has become more complex. This was the conclusion of the members of the Council of the Tito-Mitrovica National Liberation Fighters' Council at its extended meeting. Following the hostile demonstrations that took place on 3 April 1981, an intensive activity was carried out in Tito-Mitrovica to uncover this hostile activity. However, the enemy did not disappear, but was only defeated. This was stated in the opening speech delivered at the meeting by [name indistinct], president of the National Liberation Fighters' Council of the Tito-Mitrovica Commune.

Meeting on Economy

AU232030 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Summary from poor reception] An important economic meeting was held today in Pristina. The meeting was organized jointly by the provincial Presidency of the League of Communists [LC] of Kosovo, the Kosovo Assembly and the Kosovo Trade Union Council. In addition to a large number of cadres and representatives from various collectives, the meeting was also attended by Veli Deva, Ilija Vakic and others. The main speech was delivered by Riza Sapundzija, president of the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly, and Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Riza Sapundzija began his speech by pointing out that 1981 presents the most difficult tasks of the current 5-year period. Serious efforts must begin now to effect that radical change that is needed in the province. A higher degree of stabilization and consolidation is needed. An overall growth rate of 6.2 percent is expected in Kosovo's economy this year. Sapundzija went on to speak about certain subjective weaknesses in the economy. Although industrial production in 1981 increased 6.7 percent over 1980, this must not lead to complacency, because certain major branches of the economy have failed to fulfill the stipulated plans. A number of them are working at a loss. This must change.

Spundzija devoted part of his speech to the matter of exports. According to plan, exports in the nonconvertible currency area should increase 10 percent, and in the convertible area 20 percent. These tasks are feasible. The problems in this field are determined by the imperative need to find the currency needed to pay for essential oil imports, to meet obligations toward the federation and so forth. Concluding his speech, Sapundzija said that the banking organizations and various exporting enterprises must examine their particular situation closely, giving priority to the foriegn currency and export situation.

A number of speakers also took the floor during the meeting, outlining the situation in various sectors and enterprises. Iljaz Iljazi, director of the Joint Bank of Kosovo, centered his speech on the problems of liquidity and investments. During 1981, he stated, our economy exported commodities worth approximately $71 million, while importing goods worth $325 million. In the current year, too, the situation will continue to be difficult and we will be unable to come close to cover imports with our exports.

Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, said that, as in the case of the Yugoslav economy as a whole, the current year will be very difficult also for Kosovo, particularly when it is known that the high degree of inflation registered last year must be reduced considerably this year to about 15 percent. However, there are in Kosovo sufficient forces to engage in the struggle for stabilization. There are a considerable number of technical, economic and political forces for this. These forces must be mobilized in full to cope with the situation. Another problem that needs to be tackled is that of enterprises working at a loss. This situation represents a cause for worry and could have political and social consequences, unless it is properly resolved. The thing to do is to utilize existing capacities everywhere to the fullest extent possible. The League of Communists must increase efforts to instill a proper understanding in the matter of raising productivity.

Veli Deva also mentioned the importance of engaging young people more fully in the entire self-management process. Another subject stressed by Veli Deva was that of employment, saying that great efforts must be exerted by all organizations to ensure that it is resolved.

Meeting on Agriculture

AU232127 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Summary from poor reception] "Today in Prizren, a consultative conference on the problems of agriculture and the fulfillment of the spring sowing plan was held which was presided over by Azem Vlazi, president of the Kosovo Provincial SAWP Conference. Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, attended the conference in addition to representatives of the sociopolitical organizations of all Kosovo communes and of the agricultural organizations and the food industry.

"In his introductory report at the conference, Obrad Jankovic, president of the Kosovo Cooperation Federation and member of the Presidium of the Provincial SAWP Conference, pointed out among other things that in the coming spring our province must sow more than 164,000 hectares of various spring crops to increase its agricultural production by 5.7 percent as compared with last year. Our province has at its disposal 14,000 tractors for a successful spring sowing."

Participating in the discussion, Ali Sukrija stressed the need for greater efforts to ensure a successful fulfillment of the spring sowing plan. In conclusion of his statement, Ali Sukrija stressed the need "for engaging all political cadres in the advancement of agriculture and a quicker transformation of the village. In his concluding speech at the conference, Azem Vlasi emphasized the need for specifically determining the tasks and sowing plans of the communal organizations of the Socialist Alliance, local communities and agricultural organizations.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA BODY ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

LD201956 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 20 Jan 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with Raif Dizdarevic in the chair, has discussed the report on the implementation of the law on the legal position of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Presidency, as reported, noted that in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the relations between society and the religious communities of all the denominations were continuously promoted by joint effort and that the activity of the religious communities on the whole was proceeding in line with the Constitution and the law. A contribution is made to this, among other things, by the activity of relevant organs, an activity in which our socialist self-managing society fully ensures the rights of believers to free profession of religion and religious sentiments and of the religious communities to freely carry out in full equality religious rites and religious affairs. In this, one continuously proceeds from the fact that these rights are part of all the rights and freedoms of the citizens of our country.

The Presidency stressed that the law on the legal position of religious communities represents the legal framework for the behavior and activity of religious communities as well as the activity of social organs and organizations whose duty is the implementation of constitutional and legal norms in this sphere.

It was noted at the session that the great majority of religious employees in the religious communities respect the established legal and constitutional norms of behavior. However, recently, in the assessment of the Presidency, a more overt action has taken place by individuals who, by abusing religious sentiments of citizens and their own vocation, act from enemy positions in various ways against brotherhood, unity and togetherness of our nations and nationalities, the socialist self-managing system, independent nonaligned foreign policy of our country and other achievements of the socialist revolution. In so doing they hinder the free profession of religious sentiments and the activity of religious communities and try to inflict harm on the good relations between society and religious communities. To this end they try, among other things, to rehabilitate enemy and criminal activities of individuals who, in the course of the armed revolution and also subsequently, gravely transgressed against our constitutional and legal system, and even notorious war criminals.

The Presidency stresses that this is done by very few individuals. The great majority of religious employees of all denominations, with their patriotic attitude and correct discharging of religious duties, contribute to understanding and cooperation by religious communities and society. As equal citizens of our self-managing socialist community, they are committed to discharging their self-managing duties and rights, to safeguarding the achievements of our socialist development, harmony and brotherhood, equality and unity of all our nations and nationalities.

The Presidency noted that the provisions of the existing law on the legal position of religious communities are not being consistently implemented in some cases, both on the part of some institutions of the religious communities and some of their employees as well as on the part of some social organs. In this context, the Presidency pointed out in particular that a considerable number of articles in some religious papers and periodicals attack the basic values of our society and consciously poison relations between society and religious communities. The religious press is also circulated in some environments by bypassing religious institutions. All this is profoundly contrary to the existing legislative provisions. The duty of relevant state organs is always to (?act) against such phenomena consistently and efficiently in line with the law.

The Presidency also pointed out phenomena of sectarian attitude against justified demands -- demands based on the law -- by religious communities. This causes dissatisfaction both among a section of the believers and religious employees in these communities. From this, too, inaccurate assessments are made at times to the effect that the whole society is behind individual organs that do not act in line with the law and behind unacceptable attitudes by individuals.

In acquainting itself with the international ties of religious communities, the Presidency stressed their right to contacts with religious organizations in other countries, along with full respect for the principle that such contacts should remain exclusively within the framework of religious activities.

The Presidency believes that relevant organs in the republic and in the municipalities should make continuous efforts to strictly observe the Constitution, the law on the legal position of religious communities, and other laws. In this way, cooperation with religious communities will continue to be promoted.

CHANGES URGED IN LC DECISIONMAKING STATUTES

LD242300 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Coatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] The preparations for the League of Communists [LC] congresses which, as is known, will be held by the middle of the year, are in full swing. Within the context of these preparations, the way decisions are made in the League of Communists is often discussed. Here is a commentary on this by Milan Puljiz.

The basic organization, the basic cell of the LC, makes decisions on fundamental ideo-political issues, admits and expel member from the LC and so forth. The decisions are valid if over half of the members are present at the meeting and if the majority of members who come to the meeting declare themselves in favor of the decision. If this is translated into mathematical terms, it turns out that most decisions in the LC can be adopted by a quarter plus one member, or only 26 percent of the LC members.

Examples of decisionmaking in the LC at such poorly attended meetings and on such narrow terms are surely rare, in particular if important decisions are at stake. The exponents of such a statutory provision had in mind, in all likelihood, party organizations that have difficulties in holding meetings for justified reasons, such as work away from the base, shift work and so forth. To be honest, however, it should be admitted that such a provision is more favorable to party organizations that have difficulties in holding meetings due to the insufficient activity and carelessness of their members. There are organizations that barely manage to have a quorum, let alone the full attendance at the meetings of all their members.

Judging by some trends, however, the statutory provision on the majority of more than half should, nevertheless, be changed. It would be more in line with the present level of LC development and with its ideological and political role in the political system of self-management to make the attitude to and responsibility for decisions more incisive. For example, valid decisions should be adopted at meetings attended by at least two-thirds of the members. Decisions would be valid if two-thirds of those present declare themselves in favor of them. Both mathematically and politically, too, this would be a significant change from the present statutory provision. It would be more in line with the new spirit and with the relations that are built in the League of Communists.

CROATIAN TOURISM BODY ON FOREIGN PRESS IMPORTS

LD211820 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 21 Jan 82

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Republican Committee for Tourism today expressed support for the proposal that foreign newspapers for tourists be imported on a selective basis next season. To this end, 125 million diners will be allocated. A little less than half of this amount will be allocated by the republic and the rest by the organizations of associated labor in the tourist economy.

According to the proposal prepared by a special working group, all foreign press will be divided into two categories: daily and weekly informative press, and entertainment magazines.

Large numbers of different newspapers will no longer be imported. Priority will be given to those newspapers and publications which foreign guests were most interested in last year and which were sold along the Adriatic coast, where 70 percent of all foreign press is put on sale.

From Austria, for instance, 11 dailies have been imported up to now. This number now will be cut to three in all. Six papers used to be imported from the FRG but this has been reduced to four, which will include two newspapers such as FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, which have not been on sale up to now. In the future Italy will be represented by four newspapers, France by two, Britain by four, Switzerland by one, Holland by two, Belgium by one, and the United States by one daily.

The imported foreign press also includes press for the Italian minority in Croatia and press read in the interior of the republic.

AUSTRIAN PAPER ON YUGOSLAV PRESS RESTRICTIONS

AU221928 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 22 Jan 82 p 2

[Christine von Kohl dispatch: "Restrictions Again on the Yugoslav Press"]

[Text] Belgrade -- The short phase of relative freedom of the press in Yugoslavia has again come to an end. The Croatian Communist Party under the leadership of Milka Planinc, who will move to Belgrade in the spring as head of government, had already made known a hard line vis-a-vis the press, and Serbia has now followed this example. At two sessions on the same day the chief editor and responsible editors were taken to task for "negative phenomena in the mass media." One of the sessions took place at the university, and evidently ran into more vehement resistance from the criticized representatives of the student press.

The Serbian Central Committee reproached the information media for reporting "unilaterally and in a sensational manner" about important topics of daily life. In doing so, attempts were being made "from liberalist, dogmatic and other positions which are aimed against self-managing socialism in order to call into question the political system of Yugoslavia and the activity of the Yugoslav Communist Party." Such phenomena should be prevented through a resolute attitude of the communists and other working people in the editorial offices. And in general, stronger control through the sociopolitical organs should be felt regarding information and commentators.

Branko Gligoric, chairman of the ideological commission of the "Socialist Alliance" in Belgrade, obviously found himself in a difficult position at the Belgrade University session. The STUDENT and VIDIK student papers were subjected to a detailed analysis. VIDIK, for example, was reproached for "acting, from issue to issue, in an increasingly open anti-Marxist manner, and thus for presenting a most deeply antihuman and antisocialist" viewpoint. The "ideological orientation" of the two student periodicals will soon be examined at a higher party level.

BRIEFS

NEW EDITOR IN KOSOVO -- Pristina, 14 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium has appointed Redzep Hajrulahu, a socio-political worker of long standing, the chief editor of the Kosovo edition of KOMUNIST. Among other things, Hajrulahu has been a municipal committee secretary of the League of Communists and executive secretary of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium. The previous editor of the Kosovo edition of KOMUNIST, Ali Mulua, was recently appointed provincial secretary for information. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 14 Jan 82 LD]